Swing of the Pendulum *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Outfox the Fellow in the Bright Nightgown

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He was a two-quart-a-day man (double martinis on waking, if you will). Yet he detested messy drunks, and never missed a performance because of liquor.

He was an insomniac of such proportions that sometimes he could only achieve sleep under a beach umbrella on which a garden hose sprinkled imitation rain. Yet he referred to death (mysteriously, but without real aversion) as "the fellow in the bright nightgown."

He was unforgettably, incomparably, uniquely W. C. Fields, and his lesson was that style, style, style is all. Rhetorical style. Theatrical style. Psychological style. *Style, the surest outward sign of substance, of a special and original inward view.*

And so, it is to this sure, true, blithe spirit, "Uncle Willie," that we dedicate a new magazine. Our name: AUDIENCE. Our purpose: to outfox the fellow in the bright nightgown by keeping you alive to beauty, to humor, *to today.*

THE PEOPLE

AUDIENCE celebrates excellence wherever excellence is to be found — brownstone, commune, playing field, concert hall, garret, campus, proscenium, foundry, ghetto, chateau, Volkswagen bus.

Our Editorial Board is something else again:

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THE GRAPHICS

AUDIENCE is published every other month — a magazine for enjoying at leisure. It comes to you in hard covers, without advertising — a magazine for saving. It is designed by Seymour Chwast and Milton Glaser, whose Push Pin Studios recently became the first American design group ever honored with an exhibition at the Louvre. Their pilot issue of AUDIENCE, by the way, has already won top honors from the prestigious Society of Publication Designers — an unheard-of coup first time out.

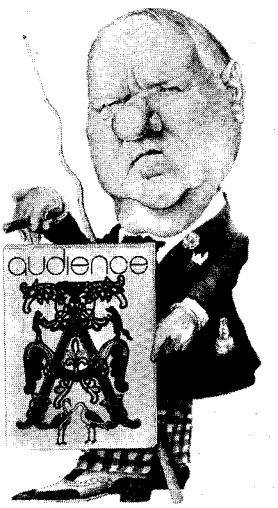
Specifications? Probably not even a Medici Pope could have commanded a book more opulent, more lavish. 216 square inches to the open spread. And depending on the contents of individual issues, a positively sensuous interlacing of papers. Papers for art reproduction, of a weight and quality for framing, and color plates by the bin. Rich tint papers for text. Typefaces of custom design. Foldouts. Stitchins. Endpapers. And for permanence, heavy board covers. In graphics, too, AUDIENCE is a celebration of style. A celebration of excellence.

THE DEAL

Where available in a very few expensive metropolitan bookstores, AUDIENCE will carry a cover price of $4.95 the issue, or $29.70 for the full volume year, numbers one through six. *A reward for becoming a Charter Subscriber, however, is saving almost half this cost — provided you're prompt in using our coupon:*

Volume I, Number One is now on the press, and as much as we'd like to accept all comers, the print order for this first edition has now been set — an accommodation to collectors.

"Don't let 'em bamboozle you, son,"



Fields once said, "but never drink anything stronger than gin before breakfast, either." Our magazine is guaranteed to please. But if, for some reason, our Volume I, Number One issue *should* leave you feeling bamboozled, return it, and so much for AUDIENCE and you.

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME ONE, NUMBER ONE ISSUE

"It was Fields who taught us that a man's ideas are not, ultimately, as important as his imaginative stake in reality, and that Earl Long, in his pajamas, with his stripper, is indescribably preferable to Billie Sol Estes, with his Sunday-piety and sex-segregated swimming pool."

John Clellon Holmes has written the dedication of our premier issue to W. C. Fields with "Uncle Willy and Us" Drawings, Edward Sorel.

"Nijinsky had a pair of feet you'd have had to see to believe. His heels and the base of his toes were equidistant from his ankles. No other mammal with feet like that had ever been seen outside Australia."

Nelson Algren writes on a standing skirmish between the dancer and his impresario, Diaghilev, by way of proving an Algren theory that integrity in art is "a matter of who swings the mackerel." Illustration, Milton Glaser.

"Q. If you could change one character trait in yourself, it would be?
A. My shyness."

Answer on a Playmate Data Sheet, required of each candidate before her photograph, posed nude, is considered for a Playboy foldout. The hilarious piece is by Tom Meehan, and it's called "We Like to Find a Late-Maturing Girl." Illustrations, Robert Grossman.

"In a village somewhere in the Ukraine there lived a poor man called Todie. Todie had a wife, Shaindel, and seven children, but he could never earn enough to feed them properly. He tried many trades and failed in all of them. It was said of Todie that if he decided to deal in candles the sun would never set . . ."

Blend Sholem Aleichem with Hans Christian Andersen, and you get Isaac Bashevis Singer's "Shrewd Todie and Lyzer the Miser," one of two fables clearly marked for posterity in the issue. Illustrations, Seymour Chwast.

THE COUPON

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Antediluvian Medicine

Four spokesmen for the American Medical Association leaned forward aggressively in hearings last week as Dr. Russell Roth, speaker of the AMA's House of Delegates, denied that the nation is in a health crisis. Sen. Kennedy mildly observed that Mr. Nixon refers to it as a "crisis"; doesn't the fact that the number of tonsillectomies in California is four times the national rate suggest that there is an uneven distribution of surgeons around the country?

"Where does that statistic come from?" snapped Harry Peterson, the AMA's chief lobbyist. An aide whispered to Kennedy. He replied that it is part of the supporting material in Mr. Nixon's health message of Feb. 18. And how about the high rate of infant mortality in the US, he asked; aren't there 12 or 14 nations with lower rates? "Those figures are wrong!" cried Dr. Max Parrott, chairman of the AMA Board of Trustees heatedly. "They are absolutely wrong. They are used dishonestly!"

The figures are from the UN World Health Organization and are used by HEW but apparently constant reiteration has got under AMA's skin. It argues that America's health system is the best in the world. Faulty or not, practically every big city in America reports an infant death rate two or three times higher in the ghetto area than in the suburban area. This is a matter of simple domestic comparison and not international.

All this means is that the AMA, which is the most powerful lobby in Washington, is fighting desperately against an idea whose time has come. The United States is the only industrial nation in the world that does not have some system of compulsory health-insurance. But the AMA is fighting against major surgery; rather it favors dieting, exercise and medication or, perhaps, Mr. Nixon's half-way measure to subsidize the thing through private insurance companies; it rejects a national unitary health plan under the budget.

This could be the last great fight of the AMA, the most affluent and powerful professional group in America, whose 40-year record of failing to recognize the public's interest and its own interest is almost incredible. Look at the story: In 1930 Congress proposed federal funds to state health agencies to reduce the death rate of mothers and children. The AMA house of delegates (which Dr. Roth now heads) said it "tended to promote communism."

In 1939 AMA president Morris Fishbein labeled old-age and unemployment insurance "a definite step toward either communism or totalitarianism." In the forties Truman recommended national health insurance and the AMA organized the most expensive lobbying campaign in history up to that time, against "socialized medicine," with a state-by-state attack on candidates backing the plan. By one estimate $50 million was spent.

The AMA bitterly opposed extension of Social Security to provide benefits for the permanently and totally disabled, calling it a "serious threat to American medicine." In 1953 Washington ordered that programs for crippled children in the states should provide free diagnostic services. The AMA denounced it as a "socialistic regulation."

In 1962 Dr. Edward R. Annis for AMA on TV denounced health care for the elderly through Social Security as "a cruel hoax and a delusion." Through its political arm, AMPAC, the organization put up an estimated $7 million to candidates pledged to vote against Medicare.

The fight against Medicare, incidentally, produced one of the strangest political alliances in history. The AMA had some doubts about cigarette smoking but, in February 1964, just a month after the release of the Surgeon General's 18-month study linking smoking to heart disease, it suddenly announced that it had accepted a $10-million grant from six top cigarette companies to investigate the subject. On Feb. 28, 1964, it protested to the Federal Trade Commission the proposed order to label cigarettes as a health hazard. Its letter sounded as though it had been written by tobacco men and Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. (D, NJ) charged that it was a payoff.

The AMA is a formidable group. Out of around 305,000 doctors in the country it claims 214,000. It fills a nine-story building in Chicago's Loop with 900 staff members and a reported $30 million annual budget. It has a tightly run lobby in Washington. It reportedly takes in $13 million from drug and other advertising in the AMA *Journal*. It also publishes a 16-page weekly, *American Medical News*, carrying advertising, and devoted currently to selling the AMA's own health plan. Under this, the government would pick up the entire premium for health coverage with private insurance companies. It is called "Medicredit" and is a fall-back position to head off the comprehensive labor-Kennedy health security bill.

Nobody doubts the political clout of AMA, operating through its political arm. It raised an estimated $4 million in 1967 and 1968, and threw the money largely into tight congressional races. Its hold on President Nixon was seen when it vetoed HEW Secretary Finch's choice of Dr. John Knowles, reform-minded hospital administrator, for assistant secretary. Finch had announced the Knowles appointment, which Mr. Nixon forced him to withdraw under AMA pressure exerted through the late Sen. Dirksen.

The AMA has, generally, done good work in policing medical standards although the Supreme Court unanimously slapped it down in an anti-trust case in the forties when it tried to block group practice by doctors in the DC Group Health Association.

And anybody could see that federally guaranteed prepayment of hospital and medical costs under Medicare or Medicaid was a goldmine for doctors. Most of the money has been funneled into their pockets and into hospitals: America's medical bill jumped in the last 12 months from $63- to $70-billion – a present annual cost to each man, woman and child of $350.

Sorriest loss is to the medical image itself; the once universally respected physician-figure threatens to become a kind of superior trade unionist – with quaint views and hardening of the arteries.

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Contents

5-9 Comment
Swing of the Pendulum; Conscientious Objection; Boyle's Law; Billions for Defense, but . . .; Water Pollution; Big Bad Bear; A Word from Our Censor
10 Wild, Wild WEST – *Jack Waugh*
13 The Nixon Watch: Kissinger and Rogers – *John Osborne*
15 Selling Death: Cigarette Ads in the Magazines – *Thomas Whiteside*
17 Aerospace Dinosaurs – *Peter Barnes*
20 The Open Door: Talks with Chou En-lai – *Edgar Snow*
24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*
25 Books – Reviews by *John Fairbank, Peter Caws, Louis Coxe*
34 Television – *Sedulus*
36 Correspondence

The Staff

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Swing of The Pendulum

"The influence of the Crown," the House of Commons resolved in 1780, "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." There are some interesting analogies. The war of the American Revolution was then in progress; it was not going very successfully from the Crown's point of view; and it was intensely opposed by numerous people in the country at large and by the leading lights in Parliament. The United States is not the Britain of 1780, and the American Presidency lays no claim to the prerogatives that George III believed were rightly his. Nonetheless, the influence of the Executive, especially its discretionary authority to involve the nation in wars, though not in those matters alone, has increased and is increasing, and much of Congress believes it should be diminished. It showed this last year by cancelling the blank check it had given Lyndon Johnson in the Tonkin Gulf resolution, to "take all necessary steps to repel armed attack against the forces of the US *and to prevent future aggression*" [italics added]. Last year, Congress also passed the Cooper-Church Amendment, restricting the use of American ground troops in Indochina. It now finds that restriction insufficient, so the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 8 opened hearings on the desirability of imposing further limits, both immediate ones applicable to Indochina, and if possible longer-range ones, applicable prospectively to future exercises of the Presidential war and foreign relations powers. And Senators Church and Mathias are asking for repeal of the President's authority, given in 1954, to use our military forces "as he deems necessary" to defend Formosa and the Pescadores islands.

While legislators are examining more closely Executive power in matters of war and peace, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. has been inquiring into certain aspects of the President's domestic authority. Thus, Ervin's subcommittee on the separation of powers held hearings recently questioning the use by Mr. Nixon of the pocket veto during a period of temporary adjournment of Congress, and will open hearings on March 23 on the practice of impounding and failing to spend moneys appropriated by Congress for specific programs.

Periods of Presidential predominance are nothing new. We need only recall Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase, Jackson and the Bank of the United States as well as Jackson and Nullification, Lincoln and

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the issues of the Union and of slavery, and the forceful exercise of Executive power by Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, or FDR during his first year in office. Looking back, one can say that on the whole their bold initiatives, their determination to lead rather than follow the Congress were demanded by the times and that the country was stronger for them. But up until the Second World War, Congress after each cycle of Presidential dominance, redressed the balance, sometimes beyond what was desirable. In 1939, however, the pendulum went into an upward Presidential arc, without swinging back down again.

While the President does represent a distinct constituency and ought therefore to speak with an independent voice and have considerable leverage, his unchecked dominion over any segment of public affairs – as his dominion on issues of war and peace is now virtually unchecked – constitutes a perilous contradiction of the principles of democratic government. To say this is not to plead for a return to McKinley and a lackadaisical Executive. The institution of the Presidency is not altogether unresponsive to popular opinion, and the President can be deposed after four years. But the discipline of the democratic process plays on the President only at wholesale. His policy-making process is necessarily private, almost like that of a court. The large results become known, and on these he can be judged and held to account, but the way he reaches them is seldom open to much scrutiny and consequently little open to influence. And the numerous interstitial decisions, the lesser crossroads of choice on the way to the gross results, are immune from effective control. So while the Presidency is unquestionably a democratic institution, it is not, as compared with Congress, an institution of participatory democracy. It is not built to be a forum for the clash of diverse interests and for the play of varied opinion in the day-to-day formation of policy. Its decisions are not submitted to popular notice and influence in all aspects and at all stages, from the defining of a problem through the exploration of its complexities and ramifications, to its ultimate resolution. Congress, reflecting as it does in its very membership varieties of views, and representing most groupings of opinion, open as it is in its interminable hearings to access by all concerned, given to bargaining and trading and to the splitting of differences all along the way until it votes and decides – Congress is the institution where we do not merely hold our government to account, but can take some part in it.

Then, too, the Presidency when it wishes commands the attention of the people in a fashion that is not easily equaled, as Senator Fulbright has often pointed out. In the age of television, this is a tremendous asset, against which countervailing forces are at a sharp disadvantage. The consequence of Presidential dominance of the media is that it takes courage for an individual congressman or even for groups of congressmen to challenge the President, especially where he chooses to speak and act in his role as Commander-in-Chief.

Granted, however, that the White House is a powerful amplifier of whatever noises the President makes, the *constitutional* position of Congress as an institution is still more powerful, if Congress chooses to see it that way and act accordingly. The opportunity is at hand. Effective though the President can be on television or through his meetings with carefully selected newsmen, the unwanted war in Indochina has brought home to millions of people the insight that it is unsafe to let the President alone say how and when and whether to engage the nation in war. Not just Mr. Nixon, but any President. Nothing so enlightens people on the rights and wrongs of abstract institutional arrangements as the wrong practical results of institutional decisions.

It may be hard to codify a new division of the war-making power between Congress and the President, as Senator Javits has proposed be done, for the variables of dimly foreseeable future events may prove too unruly to be governed by language that even the most ingenious of men can write into a statute. But one need not go that far in order to swing the pendulum the other way. For example, there is nothing to prevent the Congress from enacting the proposal of Senators Mondale and Saxbe and 19 others, introduced February 25, forbidding any invasion of North Vietnam by US ground forces, as well as any combat air support of such an invasion. It would be as simple as setting an alarm to approve the resolution of Senators McGovern, Hatfield, Cranston, Hughes and 19 others (joined within the past three weeks by Muskie and Humphrey) to require withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina by the end of this year. All this is constitutionally and politically feasible, though it does take some gumption. It would dramatically and at once redress what has become a dangerous institutional imbalance between the Presidency and the Congress, and more general efforts to redress the balance prospectively, as Senator Javits suggests, need not be altogether excluded. But it was Senator John Sherman of Ohio, the general's brother, who some time after the Civil War expressed the view that the best way to begin resuming specie payments was to begin. The way for Congress to resume control over the foreign and military policy of the United States is to resume it.

COMING: Sen. Sam Ervin versus the privacy invaders — a profile by James K. Batten

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Conscientious Objection

The Supreme Court has gone a long way during the present war in extending a right to conscientious objection, but on March 8, in the cases of Guy Porter Gillette and Louis A. Negre, the Court reached the end of the road. It decided that a selective conscientious objection to the Indochina war, but not necessarily to other wars, does not entitle its holder to exemption from military service. This was not a decision by a closely divided Court, and hence not a decision likely to have gone the other way before the appointments of Chief Justice Burger and Justice Blackmun. There was a majority of eight, for which Justice Marshall spoke, and only Justice Douglas dissented.

The Selective Service Act exempts men who are "conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Previously, the Court has held that the pacifism which entitles a man to exemption need not be grounded in the tenets of any organized religion, and need not even be part of a system of religious belief, in any common sense of the word "religion." It need only be a sincere moral or ethical conviction. The Court was impelled to this construction of the conscientious objection clause of the Selective Service Act by the command of the First Amendment that Congress establish no religion: Congress may not, whether by imposing a duty, creating a right, or extending a privilege, favor one religious sect over another, or religion as such over other systems of belief.

It has never been held that in raising a citizen army, Congress has to extend any exemption at all to conscientious objectors of any sort. Yet exemption of pacifists from military service is an ancient tradition, and under the First Amendment, which guarantees the free exercise of religion as well as forbidding its establishment, it might well be held that Congress is obliged to exempt pacifists who object to all war as immoral. It can afford to. Past experience affords reasonable assurance that such an exemption is inherently limited, and is unlikely to swallow up and defeat the very power to raise armies by conscription.

But it bears repeating that in the present state of the law, exemption on any ground is a matter of grace, not of constitutional obligation. In the Gillette and Negre cases, therefore, the court had to take into account at least the possibility that if the exemption now contained in the Selective Service Act were extended to selective objectors, Congress would retain the option of withdrawing the exemption altogether and drafting everyone. The contrary proposition – that Congress has a constitutional obligation, flowing from the Free Exercise clause of the First Amendment, to exempt all conscientious objectors to war, general and selective – is an extraordinarily far-reaching notion. The issue in these cases was military service. But the First Amendment's guarantee is general. Congress, it says, "shall make no law" prohibiting "the free exercise" of religion. Well, how broadly shall we define the sort of religious conviction that is immunized from coercion by law, immunized from rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's? In a day when the moral element in countless political issues predominates and is so often singled out as decisive by so many, a certain caution was surely indicated in the interpretation of the word *religion*. Else the binding force of a great deal of law might come to depend on the inclinations of millions of individual consciences, with marked effects on the viability of organized government. "I had assumed," said Justice Douglas in dissent, "that the welfare of the single human soul was the ultimate test of the vitality of the First Amendment." In the opinion of eight of his colleagues, that was saying too much. Regrettably, perhaps.

What the First Amendment can be read to require on an issue of this consequence, one going to the foundations of organized government, is one thing. What is wise or even proper conduct for a democratic government may often be another. And while the Constitution cannot be read to entitle individuals to nullify application to themselves of laws they consider immoral on the basis of a judgment barely distinguishable from an ordinary political one, a democratic government should nonetheless realize that it ought not, and cannot with full effectiveness, continue to wage a war which a large and intense body of opinion resolutely opposes on both moral and political grounds.

Boyle's Law

The Justice Department has dipped deep into the murky waters of the United Mine Workers of America and plucked out the union's president and two other top officials on charges of conspiring to embezzle nearly $50,000 in union funds for illegal campaign contributions. President W.A. (Tony) Boyle, the union's secretary-treasurer, and the director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the political arm of the union, have been charged with violating both the Corrupt Practices Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act by allegedly giving union funds directly to candidates, including $30,000 to Hubert Humphrey.

The 66-year-old Boyle has been in trouble since the union election in 1969, when he defeated Joseph A. (Jock) Yablonski. Later, after Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered, his two sons helped organize the dissident Miners for Democracy, demanding that the Government investigate the union more carefully. The federal probe has run in cycles up to now, with periods of hot pursuit followed by months of R&R.

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So far, two other Boyle henchmen have been indicted, one for perjury, the other for embezzling union funds. The government is also looking into charges that Boyle and other trustees of the union's Welfare and Retirement Fund mismanaged funds, and that union money was used illegally in Boyle's campaign.

All this might have been avoided had the so-called "autonomy case" been settled six years ago. This suit, brought by miners, charged that the UMW deprives more than 170,000 union members of the right to vote for local officials: in all but four of the union's 23 districts, officials are appointed by the union bosses, meaning Boyle. The effect has been to give Boyle an ironclad grip on the district offices, where tremendous administrative power lies. The government finally started action on the case this January, but the damage had been done to Yablonski, who campaigned under the stigma of being a renegade for challenging the union hierarchy. Boyle went so far as to appoint a special committee to investigate "dual unionism" by the insurgents. Last December, in the regular election in Pennsylvania's District 5 – the only UMW district which elects all its local officials – the challengers made a strong showing, appearing to win in the first, unofficial count of ballots, losing in a recount announced only last week. The incumbent president now seems to have won despite the fact that he'd been indicted earlier for falsifying union expense vouchers. The Labor Department seized more than 1200 absentee ballots when incumbent district officials were accused of tampering with ballots, and those impounded ballots have not been counted in the official tabulation. Meanwhile the district machine remains in the control of the incumbents. The Boyle machine rolls on.

Billions for Defense, but . . .

In 23 states, families of servicemen in Vietnam aren't eligible for aid-to-dependent children payments even if they're living far below the poverty level, because of the latitude given states these days in defining "continued absence" from the home. As a result, court actions have been filed in three states – Maine, California and Minnesota. Cruel as the plight of these servicemen's families is, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has not made the simple administrative decision to approve state plans only when AFDC benefits are provided for families of servicemen absent from the home on military assignment.

How great is the need? No one knows exactly, but Secretary of Defense Laird did testify this year that 43,000 military families have incomes below the poverty line as defined in the Family Assistance Act. The 23 states denying AFDC to servicemen include populous California, Michigan, Missouri and Texas. The Maine suit is being pushed by the state's legal assistance office, which arranged for a ranking member of Congress to query both Secretary Laird and HEW Secretary Elliott Richardson on the attitude of their departments. Neither answer was comforting. Commissioner John L. Costa of HEW's assistance payments administration wrote back that "the Administration's proposed Family Assistance Plan would make aid more widely available to families in need, including those in which the father is employed. Under this proposal, a serviceman could receive help for his family, provided his financial situation were such as to render him eligible under the established income and resource limitations of the Plan." Jam tomorrow, but not today. Nothing is said about the administrative step that could alleviate distress now. Major Gen. Leo E. Benade, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, promised that DOD will "continue its efforts to ensure that service personnel and their families are provided all benefits and assistance to which they may be entitled." But to what are they entitled? He went on to say that "adequate compensation levels for military personnel would obviate the need for welfare aid to service personnel and their families." More jam – tomorrow.

Water Pollution

The history of the 1899 federal Refuse Act illustrates what doesn't happen when a good law isn't enforced. Passed in the McKinley Administration, the law was wise and forward-looking. Had it not been ignored, the cleanliness and purity of American waterways might have been conserved. Under the Act no individual, no corporation, no municipality could put "waste matter of any kind or description whatever" into a body of water without a permit, specific and limiting, from the Army Corps of Engineers. To skirt the procedure either by polluting with no permit, or by breaking the terms of a permit, risked federal prosecution, a $2500 fine or one year in prison, or both.

The record of the Corps of Engineers speaks for itself. For 71 years, while thousands of factories and industrial plants spewed tons of waste and toxins into convenient waters, the Corps spun its wheels. Altogether, 415 permits were assigned nationally. Half expired and were never renewed. *In 22 states no permits were ever issued to anyone.*

In 1970, Rep. Henry Reuss (D, Wis.) during hearings by the House subcommittee on conservation and natural resources, rediscovered the Refuse Act, liked it, and promptly notified federal attorneys in Wisconsin that 270 industries were evidently disobeying the law, and should be prosecuted. There resulted two convictions. The remaining 268 cases are pending a court ruling on the legitimacy of prosecutions under the

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Act. The US Justice Department insists that it was all right for those Wisconsin polluters to ignore the Refuse Act, if they had promised the Federal Water Quality Administration that in the future they would reduce their polluting. Many such promises had already been compromised or broken.

At the end of last year, Mr. Nixon proposed a new version of the Refuse Act under which the permit program passes from the Army Corps of Engineers to the Environmental Protection Agency. This is an improvement. The EPA has asked 40,000 industries to apply for permits by July 1, 1971. But the updated Refuse Act now derives its authority from the Water Pollution Control Act, which is unfortunate. For while the Water Pollution Act defines pollution more scientifically than the 1899 law, it pertains only to rivers, watercourses, and streams that cross or form state lines (interstate). It does not extend to waters that run within a state's boundaries. In effect, the original domain of the Refuse Act is thus reduced by four-fifths. The intrastate waters are now filled with industrial waste; there is no federal body that can say "stop" or even "slow down."

Big Bad Bear

As Senator Proximire has announced, it's time for more "scare-the-hell-out-of-'em" briefings. The military budget is before Congress and that $80.2 billion figure has to be justified. So Secretary Laird's Democratic ally, Senator "Scoop" Jackson, blows a modified, Soviet silo design into an ominous new Soviet missile program, which prompts Senator Symington to recall that every spring, along with warmer weather and cherry blossoms, come warnings of grave dangers from developments in Soviet weaponry.

With his recent 190-page Defense Report for fiscal year 1972 the Secretary of Defense hoped to fracture his critics in Congress. He barely bruised them. It is not enough to say that the report's latest contribution to strategic doctrine – "Realistic Deterrence" – is pallid compared with "assured destruction" or "flexible response," or that it is simply redundant. We have to make an effort to understand what it means, if anything. It appears to mean that our defense in the '70s will be based on "three pillars of peace – strength, partnership and negotiation." Getting down to cases, partnership in Asia means substituting American weapons for American troops; in Europe, it means both. Negotiation? The SALT talks are barely mentioned by Laird – possibly a concession to the Russians, who stress the importance of secrecy in negotiations. But at some point, a concession will have to be made to the American public. One arms control official has said that the American people will have to be brought into the picture sometime this summer if any treaty is to be approved. Perhaps an open discussion would be embarrassing, now that our negotiating team has turned down a Soviet proposal for an ABM agreement.

The third pillar of peace is our old friend – "negotiate from strength." But how much strength? As one would expect, Laird portrays Soviet and Chinese military posture in the most threatening fashion. A careful reading of the Secretary's statement, however, reveals a curious inconsistency between text and tables. It is as if two different rationales were present. The tables clearly state that the US retains a dominant, even increasing lead over the USSR in offensive force loadings (warheads). We find that Soviet SS-11 and SS-13 ICBM deployments have leveled off or been reduced. Their SS-9 deployment may be finished. No heavy Soviet bomber is being produced. There is no new deployment of ABMs. And as for the Chinese, they still have not tested a full-range ICBM. They have no nuclear submarines, long-range bombers, air-to-surface missiles, or in-flight refueling capability. Contrast this with the body of Laird's report, which emphasizes uncertainty, distrust, danger. The Soviets have not been backward in developing other weapons, but they have done nothing to confirm Mr. Laird's gloomy insinuations. Overestimating the threat only increases the possibility of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

A Word from Our Censor

Parents we're told, can't understand the odd "life-style" of their youngsters. Why do they behave as they do? Chairman Dean Burch of the Federal Communications Commission has part of the answer: they listen to the insinuating lyrics of rock music. Those Beatle songs about "Lucy in the sky with diamonds" ("L . . . s . . . d") and getting "high with a little help from my friends" have turned our children into drug freaks. So two weeks ago the FCC voted 5 to 1 (Nicholas Johnson dissenting) to notify broadcasters that they risk losing their licenses if they play music which "tends to promote or glorify the use of illegal drugs." Poor broadcasters! Henceforth they must listen to what they broadcast. And when they do, might they not miss an innuendo slipped in by some clever lyricist? They will get no help from the FCC, for whatever songs the Commission may have in mind remain hidden in its oracular language.

Rock music buffs can think of very few lyrics that advocate the use of drugs. Some songs do refer to drugs or the effects of drugs, but does any song which talks, *passim*, about "geting high," automatically "tend to promote or glorify the use of illegal drugs"? Might not its actual effect be neutral or negative? And how are station managers to differentiate between songs

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that simply refer to drugs – as they might refer to love, jealousy, war or loneliness – and songs of advocacy? Worse still, how can the managers predict what the Commissioners might do at license renewal time? Although the FCC ruling is not likely to affect drug use, one way or another, it does open the door to self-censorship by the intimidated.

Perhaps the real target of the FCC majority is broader than illegal drugs; perhaps it is anti-establishment attitudes themselves. Other recent FCC actions give some plausibility to that speculation. A Commission decision last year allows the Defense Department to broadcast millions of dollars worth of free military recruitment ads as "public service announcements," but denies reply time under the fairness doctrine to peace groups. Another ruling upholds a radio station's right to refuse air time to antiwar spokesmen, even if they are willing to pay commercial rates for it. Commissioner Johnson tells us that the drug lyric warning was stimulated by a Pentagon briefing given to the Commission last December. "Many of the lyrics singled out by the Defense Department as objectionable have nothing . . . to do with drug use, but relate instead to social commentary," Johnson said; such as a song by the Doors: "War is out – peace is the new thing."

Wild, Wild WEST

Santa Fe, NM

In September 1964, eleven electric power companies formed an association called WEST (Western Energy Supply and Transmission Associates). WEST's 24 members represent one of the most powerful combines of electric utility interests in the country. They aim to meet the future power needs of nine Western states – California, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Texas, Nevada and Wyoming. Along the way, they run a good chance of destroying the beautiful Colorado river plateau.

WEST's strategy is to construct an interlocking network of gigantic, coal-fired generators in the unsettled expanses of the plateau, and link them by transmission lines to the major cities of the West. Two plants have already been built, one is abuilding, three more are scheduled for completion by 1977. All six are or will be sited in the plateau for three reasons: they are too dirty to be located in urban areas; land in the plateau is cheap, most of it Indian owned (hence easily leased and exploited); and plentiful low-grade coal is nearby.

The first WEST plant – in the two million kilowatt class – is on a Navajo reservation in the spectacular Four Corners region, where Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah meet. Every day the five smoke stacks blow out 250 tons of ash and dust, blackening the skies for 200 miles across the plateau. That is as much as Los Angeles (110 tons) and New York City (140 tons) produce together on an average summer day. The smoke is so heavy that the Four Corners plant was the only man-made landmark seen by the Apollo 8 astronauts from space.

The Four Corners plant is just the beginning. The six facilities built and blueprinted for the present decade will, if not forced to clean up, throw out 2160 tons of sulfur oxides a day – more than Chicago (1920 tons) or New York (1077 tons) and many times more than Los Angeles (225 tons). They will emit 850 tons a day of nitrogen oxides, one of the infamous elements of Los Angeles-type smog. (Los Angeles in 1968 produced only 950 tons a day). Even if the power interests put wet scrubbers on all six of these plants, they will still throw out 240 tons of ash and dust daily.

The sixth of WEST's scheduled power plants will be the biggest thermal electric generating facility in the world – and probably the most polluting. A five to six million kilowatt colossus near Lake Powell in Utah, it will generate enough electricity to run a city the size of New York. To do so it will burn 45,000 tons of low-grade coal every 24 hours, employ 2000 people in the mines and in the plant, draw 102,000 acre feet of water a year from Lake Powell – and spew out an enormous amount of sulfur oxides, fly ash and nitrogen oxides.

Lately, under pressure from conservationists and state governments, WEST's members have been more attentive to pollution. New Mexico has ordered the Four Corners plant to clean up the fly ash and get its smoke stacks 99.2 percent pure by the end of this year or close down. Prior to this ultimatum, the Arizona Public Service Company, which operates the plant, made no serious effort to clean up the fly ash. Now it is installing wet scrubbers costing $7 million. When Phoenix's Salt River Project first began building WEST's third mammoth coal-burning plant on the Arizona side of Lake Powell, virtually none of its $309-million budget was allocated for pollution abatement. Henceforth it will spend $90 million on environmental safeguards, not pumping hot water back into the lake, and cutting fly ash and dust emissions down to 15 tons a day. It says it plans to stop the emission of sulfur oxides from its second stack, but not from its first – too late to do that and open on schedule.

Conservationists were caught flatfooted by WEST's push into the Colorado plateau. They went soft, complacent and asleep after they successfully beat back the network of dams that would have inundated majestic canyons under fathoms of water in the late 1950s. WEST had organized and made its end run through the coal fields before environmentalists caught on by the late 1960s. It may now be too late to stop the plants. The best that can be hoped for is to enforce tough pollution abatement standards – and that will require a long, hard fight.

Jack Waugh

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The Nixon Watch

Kissinger and Rogers

After saying at a press conference on March 4 that Secretary of State William P. Rogers is "the foreign policy adviser for the President" and "the chief foreign policy spokesman for the President," Mr. Nixon continued: "Now, the role of Dr. Kissinger is a different one. He is the White House adviser to the President. He covers not only foreign policy but national security policy; the coordination of those policies." There was a sufficient and convincing answer to the question to which the President was addressing himself. The question, as he stated it a moment later, was "whether either Secretary Rogers or Dr. Kissinger is the top adviser," and the answer implicit in what Mr. Nixon had said was that Henry A. Kissinger is "the top adviser." But the President didn't leave it at that. He felt that he had to repeat himself and say that the answer to the question as he had phrased it "is very simply that the Secretary of State is always the chief foreign policy adviser and the chief foreign policy spokesman of the Administration."

It was a sensitive question for the President, one that had been rubbing him raw since early February. His reaction then to a casual and generally overlooked statement by George D. Aiken, the Republican dean of the Senate, showed when it became known that Mr. Nixon was beginning to realize that his prized system of foreign and national security policy development had seriously impaired the position and effectiveness of Secretary Rogers. A brief news item quoted Aiken's remark that Rogers did not seem to be involved in major foreign policy decisions. Mr. Nixon immediately wrote a letter to the senator, assuring him that Rogers was involved in all major foreign policy decisions. Aiken said nothing about the letter until March 2, when a Nixon assistant startled him by asking him not only to release it but to publicize it at a press conference. Senator Aiken declined to call a press conference, but he agreed to answer any questions that he might be asked about the letter and to have it printed in the *Congressional Record*.

The request to Aiken was one of several White House responses, capped by the President's remarks on March 4, to the complaints of two other senators that Henry Kissinger had damagingly overshadowed Rogers and, what was worse, had done it in a fashion that denied Congress as a whole and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in particular their proper roles in the evolution and execution of foreign policy. The committee chairman, Senator Fulbright, and one of its members, Stuart Symington, raised the old and tattered issue of "executive privilege." They said that Kissinger, by invoking it and refusing to submit to committee questioning, had frustrated them and their colleagues in their right and efforts to get at the real origins and intent of Nixon policy. Symington, graphically detailing the structure of departmental committees, groups and staff processes that Kissinger devised and directs, said that the President's assistant for national security affairs is "the most powerful man in the Nixon Administration next to the President himself" and asserted that his immunity from committee interrogation "nullifies the basic concept of advice and consent." Fulbright drafted a bill that would require Kissinger and other Presidential assistants to appear upon command before the Foreign Relations and other committees, if only to say that they had been specifically directed in writing by the President to refuse to testify. It was a feeble threat, likely to die in Fulbright's committee, and the President would probably have ridden out the furor in silence if Kissinger's ascendancy had not been related to what Symington called "a resultant obvious decline in the prestige and position of the Secretary of State and his department."

Symington also said in a Senate speech, "Wherever one goes in the afternoon or evening around this town, one hears our very able Secretary of State laughed at. People say he is Secretary of State in title only." That did it. A White House assistant forthwith got in touch with Senator Aiken, as noted. Mr. Nixon ordered his press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, to tell reporters that "President Nixon has the utmost confidence in the Secretary of State" and that "those who may have the impression that the Secretary of State is not the President's chief adviser on foreign affairs are misleading themselves and others." The staff of *Monday*, a weekly propaganda sheet put out by the Republican National Committee, polled two Washington society columnists and four "prominent Washington hostesses" and reported their "unanimous" testimony that "they had never heard the Secretary of State laughed at."

Mr. Nixon made the difficulty for himself and for his Secretary of State when he fulfilled his campaign pledge "to restore the National Security Council to its preeminent role in national security planning." Henry Kissinger's preeminence, his own skills apart, is a product of that promised and accomplished preeminence. Symington recognized this when he maintained, on the Senate floor and personally to Rogers, that he was aiming at neither Rogers nor Kissinger but at "the concentration of foreign policy decision-making power in the White House" and at the isolation of that power center from Congress. Senator Jacob Javits, agreeing with Symington that "excessive use of executive privilege" had impeded congressional oversight of foreign policy, went to the core of the matter when he asked, "Why should we not hold the President himself responsible rather than Dr. Kissinger for the effect upon Congress of the organization of his Presidency respecting international security affairs?" Mr. Nixon, reacting in behalf of his "oldest and closest friend in the Cabinet," the Secretary of State, acknowledged the re-

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sponsibility and did what he could to offset the result that he, with Kissinger as his instrument, had brought about.

Kissinger took it all with a great show of calm. He and the President recently came to an understanding that he, Kissinger, was welcome to remain at the White house as long as he pleased and to leave when he chose. The President sealed the understanding on January 16 with the extraordinary letter in which he said to Kissinger, "Frankly, I cannot imagine what the government would be like without you . . . I am grateful for what you have done and I am grateful that you are staying." Kissinger perceived that he was only an incidental target of the Symingtons and Fulbrights. His concern, it was said at the White House, was not for himself but for the NSC and interdepartmental policy structure that serves the President through him. He believes, as the President does, that it is a necessary response to the pressures and requirements of the times and that, if retained, it can be a permanent asset to the Presidency.

Two years after Kissinger began putting the structure together for the President, it still defies precise description. The NSC staff at its top and center consists at this writing of 42 professional foreign service offcers, coordinators, policy and program analysts. A web of interdepartmental groups and committees at the levels of assistant secretaries and under secretaries channels the President's requirements to the departments through Kissinger and, also through him draws the information and judgments of the concerned departments and agencies into the White House for final appraisal and decision. Kissinger is chairman of the most important panels, groups and committees, and a Kissinger man sits on each of the others. He dominates the entire process up to the point where, at NSC meetings and in the Oval Office, the product reaches the President. Then the President dominates, a fact that tends to be overlooked by those who fret over such questions as whether Rogers or Kissinger has the last and decisive word with the President.

The second year of the Kissinger reign brought some changes. In his NSC shop, there is less emphasis than there was at first upon long-term policy planning and thinking by his own people and more upon extracting plans and thinking of the desired quality from State, Defense, the Joint Chiefs, CIA. Kissinger is increasing his budget for outside consultants from $132,000 in this fiscal year to $458,000. The NSC staff's review, criticism and supplementation of the papers that flow to the White House is, if anything, more rigorous than ever. Many of the directives that go out to the departments and agencies seem at the receiving end to be more detailed, more explicit in the questions raised and the criteria set for response to the questions than they used to be. Intent to predetermine the answers is denied at the White House, but that seems to some of the recipients, particularly at the State Department, to be the effect. Even the complainers grant, however, that Kissinger is wholly impartial when he presents varying views to the Council and to the President. It is said for him, and people who work with him say it is true, that he saves his own views for the President and never knowingly tries to swing the preparatory process one way or another.

Although friction between the NSC staff and State has lessened, contrary reports notwithstanding, Kissinger's dealings with foreign ambassadors continue to be a source of resentment at the department and of some embarrassment to him. A department spokesman's recent statement that Kissinger's ventures in direct diplomacy had led to an "understanding" irritated him. He felt that it was a subject best left in limbo. The story at the White House is that Kissinger traffics with ambassadors only in instances of extreme need, at the instructions of the President and with a few ambassadors who demand contact with him as evidence that the President cherishes their principals at home.

Working for him is hell, now as before, but he has tried in the last year or so to make it less hellish than it was at first. He knows that he lost some good men because he excluded them from him. Now 10 to 12 of his senior assistants see him at least once on most days, and the juniors hear through their own superiors when he likes their work. But the tensions within the staff are still enormous and unrelenting. This is partly because of the sheer work pressure, partly because Kissinger deliberately sets one staffer against another on the same assignments, usually without telling them that he has. He tells them now what they once had to guess: that one of their principal uses is to replenish his own store of knowledge and judgment, a store that he thought inexhaustible when he came to the White House but now finds to have been drained and diminished by the demands of the first two years. His readiness to admit as much, and to joke with his people about his driving and sometimes cruel ways, is said by the driven to be one of his appealing qualities, among the qualities that make it a rewarding hell.

The fact is that Henry the curmudgeon can be a nicer and more kindly fellow than he wants to be told by the people who work for him. "Working for Henry," an assistant remarked the other day, "you learn never to say to him, 'Thank you, Henry.' He doesn't like it; it embarrasses him. He does lots of things, little personal things, that you want to thank him for, but you can't do it if you know what's good for you." There isn't much time for thanking Henry, in any case. K. Wayne Smith, the chief of Kissinger's program analysts, hasn't taken a day completely off in nine months. He and others in his situation are bound to get jaded, and they do. It's one of several aspects of the Kissinger operation that justify a cer-

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tain doubt. One of the doubts is whether it is or can be the permanent contribution to government that Kissinger and the President think it should be. A structure and a process so thoroughly dominated by and dependent upon Henry Kissinger is likely to be no more permanent than his tenure at the White House. Maybe the President knew this when he wrote that letter to Kissinger in January.

John Osborne

Cigarette Ads in the Magazines

Selling Death

by Thomas Whiteside

In the period preceding the removal, by act of Congress, of all cigarette advertising from radio and television at the beginning of this year, spokesmen for various tobacco companies were insistent, in interviews with reporters, that the industry planned no undue increase in the amount of cigarette advertising in the press when the ban on cigarette commercials went into effect. Some weeks have now passed since cigarette commercials were taken off the air. During that time I have been interested in whether the press, and in particular magazines, would abstain from taking advantage of this situation by soliciting or accepting, for profit, any additional print advertising for a product that has been shown in medical studies (which have been reported in the press itself) to be the leading cause of lung cancer among men and a significant contributing factor to premature death from coronary heart disease, emphysema and a number of other diseases. I have also been interested in exploring the extent to which the tobacco manufacturers have felt themselves restrained, in planning their cigarette-advertising campaigns in the print media for the period after the ban on radio and TV cigarette commercials, by the realization that any excessive increase in the number of print ads they took out might provoke the Federal Trade Commission to take some kind of regulatory action, for example requiring health warnings to be displayed in all print advertising.

By any such standards of restraint, the behavior of the tobacco companies and the magazines alike since the ban on cigarette commercials went into effect has been alarming. A prime example exists in the advertising pages of *Life*. In the fall of 1969, in response to a letter from Sen. Frank E. Moss of Utah, attempting to determine the attitude of various publishers to accepting an increased volume of cigarette advertising after a cutoff of cigarette commercials from the air, Andrew Heiskell, the chairman of Time, Inc., publicly assured the senator that his company would continue to take cigarette ads but that it had no intention of accepting any "overwhelming" amount of cigarette advertising as a result of the TV cutoff. What has happened since this assurance can be gathered by the fact that whereas the first three issues of *Life* in 1970 carried twelve-and-a-half pages of cigarette advertising, the first three issues of the same magazine in 1971, immediately after the ban on cigarette ads on TV went into effect, carried twenty-two pages of cigarette advertising – all of them in color. And a comparison of the number of ads carried in the February 5 issue of *Life* this year with that in the first issue in February of last year shows that the number of cigarette ad pages has jumped from two to eight.

On February 8 of this year, *Life* carried a full-page ad in *The New York Times* in praise of what it called "Life's Editorial Power." The ad asked, rhetorically, "Who else had the photo of the National Guard about to fire at the Kent State kids? The reminiscences of Nikita Khrushchev? The 242 pictures of one week's American war dead in Vietnam?" It went on, "That kind of editorial excellence gives *Life* more impact than any other magazine. And gives your ad more impact than it can get anywhere else."

How can any responsible publishing corporation use a claim of editorial excellence to hold forth the unblushing assurance, applying in this case to cigarette manufacturers, that ads for a product, the use of which is officially recognized as a major cause of disease and death each year, would have "more impact" than anywhere else? If *Life*, which carried those "242 pictures of one week's American war dead in Vietnam," were to carry pictures of the number of American cigarette

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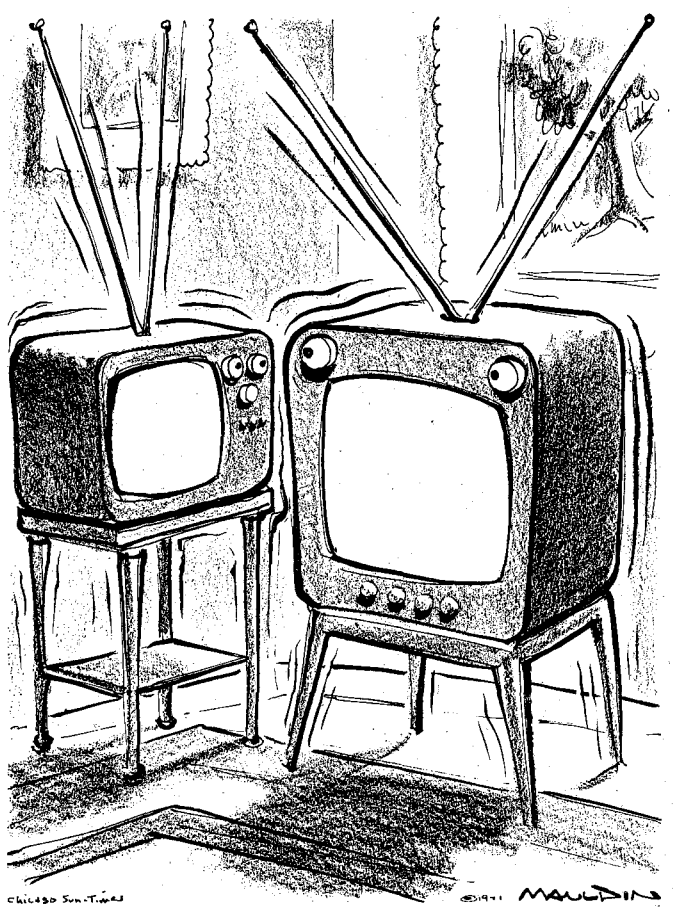
smokers who succumbed to lung cancer alone in the course of an average week, it would need not 242 pictures, but at least four times that number. How can any publisher – anyone – *make money* out of selling advertisements for a product that is known to cause death on a disastrous national scale year after year? The record of *Time* is no more encouraging than *Life* in this respect. The first three issues of *Time* for 1970 carried eight pages of cigarette advertising. The first three issues of the same magazine for 1971 carried a little less than 21 pages of cigarette advertising. And *Newsweek* is not much better than *Time*. In the first three months of 1970, *Newsweek* carried 23 pages of cigarette advertising, and for the first quarter of 1971, *Newsweek* has scheduled 50 pages of cigarette advertising – an increase of 108 percent. And nobody can accuse the editors of *Newsweek*, any more than one could accuse the editors of *Time* and *Life*, of not knowing the facts about the causal relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer and other fatal diseases. Nor can the editors of *Look* claim innocence about the facts concerning cigarette smoking and disease. The fact that *Life* and *Look* are in financial trouble can hardly be viewed as an acceptable excuse for their trying to prop up their corporate health at the expense of the health of their readers.

With certain honorable exceptions, such as *Mademoiselle* and *Glamour*, two Condé Nast publications that,



"They say the first two weeks off cigarettes are the hardest."

because they are meant to appeal to young women, have decided against taking cigarette advertising, the women's magazines as a whole are soliciting and accepting a new flood of cigarette advertising. What makes the use of this medium of advertising so particularly detestable is the knowledge that although women are less prone to lung cancer than men, the lung-cancer rate among women smokers in the last fifteen years has shown an alarming rise. Further, women, when they try to stop smoking, appear to have greater difficulty than men in breaking themselves of the habit. To counteract the trend among the smoking population generally toward cutting down on cigarette consumption, tobacco manufacturers are making great efforts to develop the market among women – in particular by putting out new brands of cigarette "imaged" in such a way as to seem particularly attractive in the female market. Huge sums have been poured into the promotion of new "women's" cigarettes such as Virginia Slims, put out by Philip Morris, and Eve, which Liggett & Myers has introduced this year on a national scale with huge double-page color spreads in the major magazines of general circulation and in the women's magazines. The introductory ads for women are headed, "Farewell to the ugly cigarette. Smoke pretty. Eve." The accompanying copy goes on, "Hello to Eve. The first truly feminine cigarette – it's almost as pretty as you are. With pretty filter tip. Pretty pack. Rich, yet gentle flavor . . . Women have been feminine since Eve. Now cigarettes are feminine. Since Eve." The ad is illustrated with a color picture of a woman's hand, amid wild flowers, holding a pack of Eve, and the pack design shows the head of an innocent-looking woman gazing out from a profusion of flowers and greenery depicted in mock-tapestry style. The deliberately contrived themes in this particular advertisement of innocence and of temptation, and an equally deliberate concealment, by the hand that is shown holding the package, of the message printed on the side, "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health," surely make this one of the most deceitful cigarette advertising campaigns yet devised.

What is perfectly clear from all this is that the legal measures that have been taken so far to bring some measure of governmental control over cigarette advertising are altogether insufficient to restrain the tobacco industry from huge advertising campaigns in the furtherance of what can only be regarded – considering what is known about the relationship between cigarette smoking and various diseases – as manslaughter on a massive scale. And the press as a whole has been undeterred from acting as co-conspirator in this manslaughter for the sake of whatever additional profits publishers have been able to seize as a result of the ban on cigarette commercials on the air. Obviously, some drastic action has to be taken to correct this situation. Under the Public Health Cigarette Smok-

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ing Act of 1970 the Federal Trade Commission is preempted until July 1, 1971 from prohibiting cigarette advertising or even from requiring that health warnings be plainly visible in all cigarette advertising; thereafter, if the FTC wishes to act in these respects, it must give Congress six months' notice of its intention to do so. This preemption was inserted in the Act through the pressure of tobacco industry lobbyists, who calculated that any such moves by the FTC might be forestalled in Congress with the help of the tobacco industry and its commercial and political allies. Even if such moves against cigarette advertising by the FTC were permitted by Congress, the resulting delay of approximately one year in controlling or prohibiting cigarette advertising would certainly have a contributory effect on the scores of thousands of human fatalities that occur in this country each year as a result of cigarette smoking. Under the circumstances, it does not seem to me that the FTC is in a position to bring an effective end to the systematic promotion for profit of this clearly lethal product. Consequently, I suggest that the problem of cigarette advertising be placed under the jurisdiction not only of the FTC but also of the Food and Drug Administration, and that all cigarette advertising in this country be banned under the provisions of the Federal Hazardous Substances Act, which authorizes the FDA to ban or control the sale or promotion of substances that because of their toxicity are hazardous to public health. The toxic substances covered by the terms of the Hazardous Substances Act include those that are capable of causing harm to humans "through inhalation." This definition fits cigarettes and cigarette smoking quite precisely, and I believe that if the Food and Drug Administration does move promptly to place cigarettes and cigarette smoking under the provisions of the Hazardous Substances Act for the purpose of bringing the promotion of cigarettes under adequate federal regulation, the Federal Trade Commission would then also be able either to ban all cigarette advertising or to require that strong health warnings be prominently displayed in the cigarette advertising that is allowed.

Boeing, Boeing, Gone

Aerospace Dinosaurs

by Peter Barnes

Seattle

If some of our giant aerospace corporations are becoming obsolete, it is because, like the dinosaur, they are unable to adapt; for example, to the idea of "sufficiency" in sophisticated weaponry. Thus, the US has gone through battleships, bombers, three generations of sea-launched Polaris missiles, two generations of Minutemen and now is building Poseidon and Minuteman III, both topped with multiple warheads and both capable of devastating any target in the world from virtually any place in the US or under the ocean. If that isn't enough what is? Although the military continues to press for new gadgets, it has become increasingly clear to Congress and the public (as evidenced by substantial opposition to the ABM) that an unending investment in ever more sophisticated weapons system is at best redundant and at worst counterproductive, for it simply triggers a counter response from the "adversary."

Aerospace executives talk about quantum jumps: the stagecoach, the railroad, the automobile, the propeller airplane, the subsonic jet. Next is the supersonic jet. But who needs it? The subsonic jets, including the massive new jumbos, will do for the foreseeable future. What is needed is not faster airplanes but cleaner, more efficient ways of traveling short distances.

As the products of the aerospace giants gain in sophistication, they become too expensive. Cost overruns plague almost every military contract. (The F-111 not only cost too much, but didn't work.) Commercial aircraft are likewise soaring beyond prices they're worth. A single 747 costs $23 million; an SST will cost about twice that, if it gets built. Airlines which took out huge loans to pay for their 707s and DC-8s are deeper in debt trying to pay for their 747s. BOAC and Air France, which have been flight testing the Concorde, report that costs per passenger mile will probably be twice that of the subsonic jets. Where on earth will the airlines get the money to buy supersonics – and even if they can get it, why should they spend it?

Contributing to the obsolescence of the aerospace

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giants is also the shift in national priorities. In the more frigid days of the cold war, the government's prime concern was weapons superiority, not sufficiency. Price was no obstacle. After Sputnik the prestige of the nation was in question, and we set out to land an American on the moon before 1970. Today, there is growing political, if not yet budgetary recognition, that more attention must be paid to pollution, health care, the cities and poverty. While arms manufacturing and space exploration will continue, they will not (short of war) enjoy the unchallenged primacy they had prior to 1970.

These three long-term trends have been partially obscured by the present economic downturn. A sluggish economy means less money for air travel, which means less demand for airplanes; once these temporary dislocations are corrected, aerospace spokesmen argue, manufacturing will surge ahead as before. But the current recession is not the root cause. That the industry's ills reflect not merely a momentary slump but the decline of an era is implicitly recognized in the companies' new obsession with diversification. A rediscovered humanism pervades executive offices. Engineers are suddenly trying to be relevant, talking not about air frames and payloads but about the same subjects their kids discuss: saving the environment, eliminating hunger, providing decent low-income housing.

As befits their training, the engineers think about solving social problems by means of systems analysis and ever more advanced hardware. Social inequities are approached in terms that NASA, though not HEW and certainly not the Black Panthers, understand: as in a spaceship, each problem exists in relation to every other problem. Analyze all the factors, feed the data and the variables into a computer, and you will come up with a total, systematic solution. Then all you need do is build the appropriate machinery. It is not that easy, however, to convert the enormous scientific capabilities of the aerospace companies to socially useful ends, as experience of the Boeing Company shows.

Boeing is one of the best, if not *the* best aerospace outfit in the world. All of its major products (including the 707, 727 and 747 commercial jets, the Saturn V rocket and the Minuteman ICBM) have performed well. It has produced none of the costly lemons grown by Lockheed (the C-5A) or General Dynamics (the F-111). It depends on the federal government for only about a fourth of its total sales. It has thus far avoided merging with any of its competitors (unlike Douglas and McDonnell) and, in spite of the current recession, it managed to show a profit last year. Boeing senses that its days are numbered unless it can channel its scientific expertise into non-aerospace pursuits. It has laid off nearly 60 percent of its 100,000 workers in the Seattle area, and will have to fire another 5000 if the SST prototype program is not refunded by Congress. So, with almost a palpable sense of desperation, Boeing has been venturing into computer services, intensive farming and housing development.

The computer services subsidiary is off to a good start, but its gross revenues in 1970 were barely $1 million – a drop in the bucket compared to the billions involved in aerospace work. Boeing's experiment in agriculture – on 100,000 acres of leased land in northern Oregon that it had been using as a hazardous testing area – is not yet advanced enough to yield statistical conclusions, but it is safe to say that it too will fall far short of absorbing a significant amount of the company's manpower. Housing seemingly offers greater rewards. America must build 26 million new units over the next ten years – the equivalent of 35 Los Angeleses – and aerospace technology might be applicable here. Yet Boeing's performance as site administrator for two Operation Breakthrough projects in the Puget Sound area does not bode well.

For one thing, Boeing's systems analysis revealed that most of the cost of building a house lies not in labor or materials but in land acquisition and financing. Thus, even if construction costs could be cut by 15 percent through prefabrication and the use of space-age materials (difficult so long as building codes remain as rigid as they are), the total cost of the house would be reduced by only about two percent. Applying aerospace technology to housing, in other words, accomplishes less than simply lowering interest rates.

Moreover, it is not as if Boeing or any of the other aerospace giants know more about housing than thousands of firms that have long experience in the field. They don't – nor are they particularly adept at dealing with minority and other tenant groups that aren't used to being programmed as inputs. One learns over a period of time, but why bother to subsidize a lengthy learning process when others can already do the job? Boeing's Breakthrough contract, for example, was won over the opposition of other local bidders. Two dozen Boeing engineers are now busy managing the Breakthrough sites – a task that could probably be performed more efficiently, with less buck-passing and internal consultation, by two more experienced administrators. When completed, the sites will have 245 units. For supervising the development of these units, Boeing will receive $1.9 million from HUD, which does not include the cost of architectural services (which Boeing subcontracted) or construction itself (also subcontracted). The likelihood of a cost breakthrough on a project in which $7750 per unit is devoted to site management alone is slight.

Other possible areas for diversification are being explored by a task force of six Boeing executives, and though their findings are not yet in, I gather from talking with some of them that the prospects are not overly bright. Mass transit, for example, is often mentioned as ripe for aerospace intervention. But where is the market? San Francisco Bay area is one of the few metropolitan regions that have voted to build subways

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in the past ten years. And even if Boeing were to supply an entire city of Seattle's size with brand new buses, the income realized from such a sale would be less than the revenue from selling a single 747.

Pollution control is another frontier that aerospace companies are exhorted to conquer. Again, who are the potential buyers? Mostly they are factories and municipalities, each hard-pressed for funds and each beset with its own technical and political problems. Assuming that sufficient pollution control funds were made available by the federal government, we must take into account the smallness of each unit sold, the uncertainties of a vastly decentralized market and the inevitable competition from firms already in the field. Moreover, no matter which new direction Boeing and its aerospace brethren look, the industry is so deeply burdened by debt and lacking in profitability that there is little venture capital to be found.

The conclusion of this quest for new mountains to climb is that the aerospace Goliaths aren't especially suited to doing anything other than what they have been doing. In earlier days, it might have been possible for them to convert quickly from airplanes to making prosaic articles like bedroom furniture; Boeing made just such a conversion in the 1920s when its workshop in Seattle ran out of government airplane contracts. But aerospace firms are now so technologically well-developed that, like muscle-bound strongmen, they've lost their flexibility.

The irony is that the special talent of the aerospace corporations is also their handicap. That talent is the ability to focus on an enormous technological challenge (building an ICBM) in a systematic way, first attacking the problem with vast quantities of scientific brainpower, then surmounting it by building a few extremely sophisticated and expensive pieces of equipment. It is a talent that requires peculiar conditions in which to flourish. One of these conditions is that the technological challenge be unequivocally defined by the federal government or by a major industry with uniform needs. A second condition is that the market for the ultimate hardware be concentrated in a single government agency (the Defense Department or NASA) or a single industry (the airlines). These conditions, when met, permit research, development, manufacturing and delivery to flow according to carefully scheduled plans. Neither of these conditions can be expected to prevail in the seventies as they did in the sixties or fifties. What the aerospace corporations are saying, when they speak of converting their capabilities to non-aerospace challenges, is that America will or should establish a market mechanism for socially needed products that is similar to the market mechanism for missiles – easily programmed, concentrated in the hands of a few high-level bureaucrats, and somehow apart from the fluctuating desires, pressures and vested interests of people and local governments.

So what's to be done with these dinosaurs? What about the hundreds of thousands of families whose livelihoods depend on their survival? We could try to preserve them at any cost through mergers, subsidies or direct government takeover. The argument for saving the aerospace giants is that they may again be needed, for defense or for some new national leap into space. Since continuity is essential in aerospace development, the argument runs, it makes sense to keep present teams together, even if this means a series of expensive makework projects (which is what the SST and many of the military programs amount to). Or we could find some new challenge for the companies, more relevant to social needs of the seventies. Aerospace executives are virtually begging the federal government to do this: give us a national goal, they plead; set up a federal agency, appropriate money on a massive enough scale, and then let us go at it. It would be gratifying if this could readily be done. The drawback is that few, if any, social problems are comparable to the technological challenge of putting a man on the moon. Moreover, the notion of a NASA-type approach to poverty, housing, or pollution control runs counter to the effort (and it is a healthy one) to decentralize many of Washington's functions. The federal government must, to be sure, set new priorities; but it does not follow that the implementation of these priorities can, or should, be channeled through the aerospace industry.

The third option is to let the aerospace giants fade away. This is the cruel, Darwinian answer, but it seems to me the most practical one. From a purely economic standpoint, the aerospace giants have become more of a burden to the nation than an asset. Despite the myriad promises that science holds in store, America does not now need any great new strides forward in technology, at least in the aerospace field. What it needs is breathing space, a chance to evaluate the impact of current technology and to distribute the fruits of progress more equitably. It needs to think small, not big; to build on the human scale, not the cosmic.

A decision to let the aerospace companies decline would not mean that they would disappear. There will always be markets for military hardware and commercial airplanes, and these markets will continue to be supplied by the aerospace companies. Still, a few of them will probably go under and others will undoubtedly merge as they struggle to adjust to the shrinking demand for their talents. There will be considerable hardships imposed upon the aerospace companies' employees. One way to help them would be to guarantee a year's minimum income after lay-off and a choice of federally-assisted retraining programs, thus cushioning the financial and psychological shocks generated by the companies' cutbacks and allowing the federal government to siphon more skilled manpower into the priority areas of the seventies.

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Talks with Chou En-lai

The Open Door

by Edgar Snow

Peking

In two long dialogues Premier Chou En-lai discussed with me some of China's foreign and domestic policies and achievements, and released for publication the most detailed interview he has given for some years. One session brought forth the first concrete figures on China's industrial and agricultural output made available in Peking for nearly a decade.

We sat in a spacious, vaulted, noiseless reception chamber in the Great Hall of the People. The premier was, as usual, urbane, relaxed and alert. A stranger would hardly guess that he is 72 and in his twenty-first year as premier of the Republic, the last five years of which saw him at the center of stability, holding an administration together during the second or cultural revolution.

Behind China's current achievements in broadening international diplomatic and trade ties there is a recovered rhythm of agricultural and industrial production following her emergence from a valley of discord. Considering the depth of that radical upheaval and the still uncompleted reconstitution of a new state superstructure, it was striking to learn from the premier that the basic economy suffered relatively mild damage. "As a result of some struggles in factories, disruption of traffic, and lost labor hours, industrial production in 1967 and 1968 did decline somewhat," he frankly conceded. Without minimizing past difficulties he asserted: "We can still say that what we gained" – in purification of the leadership and revolutionary growth – "was far, far more than we lost."

The premier said that despite the 1967-68 decline the goals set for the 1966-70 five-year plan had been basically attained and some had even been greatly exceeded. I asked for an estimate of total value of industrial production in 1970. "Approximately ninety billion U.S. dollars," he answered. "That only includes industry and transportation and does not include commerce and the service trades."

As for agriculture, the premier said that "as a result of Liu Shao-ch'i's interference" mistakes were made in the late fifties and other mistakes were made in measures of correction during the "hardship years" of 1960-62. "Now for nine years our agriculture has had a steady growth." He continued:

"China's total grain output in 1970 was more than 240 million tons. In addition China has now accumulated state grain reserves of about 40 million tons." Grain tonage is taken by Western economists as an index of Chinese agricultural conditions. Until recently many of them have continued to regard 1957 as the peak year, when output was officially given as 180 million tons. After that, "buoyant exaggeration" in 1958 greatly distorted China's statistical credibility. Since then few responsible estimates were ventured. The premier's statement may therefore be regarded as highly significant.

"If you now have surpluses, why does China continue to import wheat from abroad?"

Although China's grain imports in 1970 dropped to less than one percent of her total production, the premier explained why a limited amount of wheat intake from abroad was necessary. Imported wheat is cheaper in China than rice. China keeps the cheaper wheat for home consumption or reserves and exports rice, in balance, to Cuba and Ceylon in exchange for sugar and rubber, for example, and uses it in African trade. China also sends millions of tons of rice to help Vietnam and other countries.

Premier Chou gave the present production figure for chemical fertilizer as approximately 14 million tons, now considerably above Japanese output. Agriculture here needs 30 to 35 million tons and that is China's goal for 1975, the last year of the new five-year plan. "Thirty million tons of chemical fertilizer may be more or less sufficient but we need more because not only grain crops but cash crops need fertilizer. We still don't have enough phosphates and urea; our chemical fertilizer plants are mainly ammonium sulphate. Small chemical fertilizer plants have been highly effective. We have made big strides on the road to self-sufficiency by building such small plants."

The premier noted that China had attained the world's largest output of cotton, cotton yarn and cotton cloth. In 1970 China produced 8.5 billion meters of cotton cloth.

Steel output was also affected by revolutionary struggles in 1967 and 1968, he said. The average production was 10 to 18 million tons during the past five years. Capacity is now being expanded and modernized and may show a rapid increase in 1971.

Oil output reached more than 20 million tons last year – self-sufficiency in terms of China's present demands. Many new fields have been discovered. Railway mileage and double-tracking have been greatly

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extended. In southwest China a new and difficult system has been completed, which now connects the frontiers of Vietnam with Sinkiang in Central Asia.

The premier put agricultural product value for 1970 at about 25 percent of total combined output value of industry, transportation and agriculture. Calculated on that basis, China's industrial-transportation-agricultural output value in 1970 was around 120 billion American dollars. There is, however, no reliable index for converting "output value" in China in terms of gross national product systems used in the West. "Output value" omits or minimizes important "service values" such as rents, privately owned rural homes – now rising by the millions, built with mutual labor – as well as major and small water conservancy projects constructed by army and volunteer labor. Or consider China's nationwide urban and rural air-raid shelter system, built largely by unpaid neighborhood mutual labor teams. It would elsewhere cost billions of dollars. Finally, how is one to fit into the GNP formula the value of some 30 million acres of marginal land added during the past ten years to the cultivable area by peasant labor – with unbelievable toll – at a cost of little more than peasant food consumption?

China's output figures are based on a constant-value yuan, fixed at a rate of 2.40 to the US dollar since 1953. Until now China has avoided inflation, internal prices have remained stable and on many items have been reduced, while low wages have risen more in purchasing power than in cash. China has no internal or external debt, the premier proudly pointed out. There is no personal income tax and basic consumer necessities are generally cheaper, amazingly so in food, now available in variety and abundance, as any visitor to China may see for himself.

Taking various imponderables into account one is tempted to suggest a hypothetical GNP for China much nearer to that of the larger West European countries than is generally supposed. The hard fact remains that in per capita income China still ranks among the poorer countries, with its population, despite mass birth control measures, approaching 800 million.

Switching to internal politics, the premier discussed some features which he felt were misrepresented abroad. Although at one time it was widely reported that the entire Communist Party was dissolved during the cultural revolution, membership was in fact only suspended and the premier now asserted that less than one percent was expelled. In echelons of higher leadership changes were of course much greater. At the Ninth Party Congress held in 1969, for example, a large majority of the former membership of the Central Committee and the former Politburo was replaced by cadres who had emerged from the cultural revolution. Yet the majority of those not re-elected have not been expelled from the Party but have gone down to the countryside to "temper themselves," according to Chou.

Under Mao Tse-tung's leadership the Party and the state superstructure are now being rebuilt throughout the country. Councils or congresses of peasants, workers, mass organizations and the People's Liberation Army are preparing to send delegates to a new National People's Congress. Its purpose will be to adopt a new constitution to affirm the character of the new state, and the form of future central and local government, as well as the people's fundamental rights and duties.

One of Mao Tse-tung's aims has been to "simplify the administrative structure" and "eliminate duplication." "In the past there were 90 departments directly under the central government," said the premier. "Now there will be only 26. They are all run at present by revolutionary committees, and in each committee the Party nucleus is the core of the leadership. Formerly there were more than 60,000 administrative personnel in the central government. Now it is about 10,000."

Where have the displaced cadres gone? He said that about 80 percent of them were sent to rural centers known as May 7th schools, a term deriving from a Mao Tse-tung directive of that date. In such schools re-education in socialism and Mao Tse-tung Thought is combined with self-supporting labor on commune farms, often operating newly opened land. As for others, the premier said, many are past 60 and ready for retirement on pension. Some will choose to live on with their families in the communes. Some will go into factory work. "The ablest cadres will go or have already gone to strengthen leadership in various localities, and to help run industries and institutes formerly under central government ministries but now being turned over to local management."

Such decentralization policies also reflect intensified regional and local self-sufficiency aims not only for food but also in industrialization, based partly on growing rural electric power. Organized migrations continue, on a massive scale, of educated urban youths and city people ready for new employment into the interior cities and communes. In Shanghai alone the exodus since 1965 approaches one million.

That the rural communes continued to sow and reap better harvests, that industry recovered and advanced

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in new technologies, and that the government and party did not disintegrate into anarchy during the cultural revolution: all that was attributable, said the premier, to the people's unity and faith in the teachings and leadership of Mao Tse-tung. That fact would now be explicitly recognized in the new constitution. It would state that "the People's Republic of China is led by Mao Tse-tung, and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung is the guiding principle of all our work." It would also "openly declare" the proletarian state to be irrevocably under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Likewise in the constitution, said Chou, would be guarantees of new forms created by the people during the cultural revolution for carrying out the socialist revolution: the right "freely to air their views; to arouse the masses; to engage in great debates; and to write *tatsupao*." (The latter are large posters or papers, once circulated by the billions by the Red Guards.) The constitution would also guarantee the right to strike, Premier Chou added.

One point the premier wished to be clearly understood. The foreign press had greatly misinterpreted the role of the army by presenting it as dominating both the party and the government. That had not and would never be the case, he said; in the future it would become even further evident to those who wished to analyze the party leadership.

Between interviews with Mr. Chou and other officials, my wife Lois Wheeler and I traveled about the country above and below the Great Wall, retracing some of my old paths and exploring new ones. We met people at work in farming communes and on local industries – in urban communes and their revived neighborhood workshops – in large modern industries cooperating with schools and in universities experimenting with innovations in teaching and in student selections. We visited hospitals where modern surgery is combined *with acupuncture* and training of village medicine men, called barefoot doctors, who are also bearers of China's effective birth control pill now in widespread use even in rural areas. We visited a commune where whole families, down to age 6, engage in target practice, we met teachers and actors and high officials laboring in rice paddies and saying they like it and we saw electricians demonstrating how to repair overhead wires, alive with 220,000 volts, before spectators who included the director of China's largest steel plant and the chairman of a governing revolutionary committee in a city of a million men.

We found Premier Chou interested in our impressions of the cultural revolution and eager for fresh news of the United States. That I was the first American writer to return to China to gather material for Western publications perhaps in itself gave significance to these interviews. The major obstacle to reopening long-closed lines of communication between the Chinese and American peoples remained, as for nearly two decades, the United States' armed protectorate over Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek's defeated Nationalist regime there.

The premier reviewed the new condition in China's world relationships, featured by her expanding trade and diplomatic ties with foreign states, notably increased since Canadian and Italian recognition. Not surprisingly it is believed here that continuing diplomatic breakthroughs, including the changing vote to seat China in the United Nations, increasingly isolate the Taiwan regime and isolate the US and Japan over the Taiwan question in the world community. The "revolt" is now becoming general, the premier observed, reaching to all continents. Even in Western Europe few countries are left which still have relations with Chiang Kai-shek. Canadian and Italian recognition ended illusions about the viability of a "two-China" compromise, or a "one China, one Taiwan" arrangement.

"What will be China's response whenever the United Nations votes in favor of recognizing the People's Republic as entitled to China's seat in the Security Council?" Premier Chou replied: "And with Chiang's clique out of the United Nations altogether? Then, of course we would consider that. The future of the United Nations is hard to predict. There are two possibilities. One possibility is that [organizational] change will take place. The other is that it may suffer the same fate as the League of Nations. It becomes evident from the 25th session of the General Assembly that an increasing number of medium and small countries and even certain big countries are opposing the superpowers' manipulation of the United Nations, or, more often, bypassing the United Nations to play power politics, divide spheres of influence, and even scramble for high seas and space."

In this part of the world China is still threatened with war by the superpowers, Chou asserted: with some one million land, air and naval forces as well as rocket troops to the north and west; and with the United States in alliance with a remilitarizing Japan on the east, and through Taiwan even deeper into Southeast Asia.

Since Taiwan is Chinese territory, United States encroachment there is regarded as the crux of Sino-American difference which led to the Indochina war, where China has now extended an umbrella of protection and support to the alliance of the three Indochinese peoples against the United States. The premier recalled that in 1960 and in 1965 he spelled out for me the conditions under which the Taiwan problem could be solved so as to establish Sino-American relations. He said that there had been and would be no change. China required that 1) the United States must recognize Taiwan as an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China and must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits; 2) despite their different social systems, China and

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the United States should practice peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles.

"Taiwan is China's internal affair and the Chinese people alone have the right to liberate it. United States armed aggression there is another question, an international question, and we are ready to negotiate that," Premier Chou said. "The door is open but it depends on whether the United States is serious in dealing with the Taiwan question." He expressed friendly feelings for the American people. He indicated a readiness to consider applications from "friends of China, in concrete cases, and in a concrete way," to visit here. [The United States last week lifted all restrictions on travel to China. A spokesman said the State Department hoped the move "would result in greater travel to the mainland." *The Editors*]

Chou En-lai explained the Chinese side of the present deadlock in Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations, which has persisted for a year or more. On September 11, 1969, the Chinese and Soviet premiers reached an understanding that Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations should be held free from any threat and that the two sides would reach an agreement on provisional measures to maintain the status quo of the border, avert armed conflicts and disengage the armed forces of both sides in disputed areas. "Disputed areas," according to Premier Chou, are places where the two sides differ in their boundary delineations on the maps, according to the Sino-Russian boundary treaties of the 19th century: "That is to say, they are places which they say belong to them and we say belong to us. This question can be solved only when an agreement on the provisional measures has been reached and adjustment is to be made in accordance with the principles of mutual understanding, mutual accommodation and consultations on an equal footing. And it really shouldn't be difficult to settle."

In practice, it seems, the Russians have simply refused to agree to disengage in the disputed areas, where the two lines remain as intertwined as the prongs of two forks pushed together.

I asked the premier whether he would today repeat China's call, made in the early 1960s, for a summit conference to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, to abolish their manufacture, and to secure their total destruction.

"Let me make our position on this question clear," he replied. "In the first place, our nuclear tests are still in the experimental stage, and every test carried out is limited and made only when necessary. The aim of our nuclear tests is to break the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and prevent a nuclear war. Therefore, each time when we conduct a test, we declare that at no time and in no circumstances shall China be the first to use nuclear weapons. And we reiterate the proposal that a summit conference of all countries of the world, big or small, be convened to conclude an agreement on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and, as the first step, to reach an agreement to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. After our recent test (October 14, 1970) the Japanese Socialist Party expressed their support for this stand and proposal of ours."

As for "so-called nuclear arms limitation" talks between the superpowers, he said, these were aimed to maintain their monopoly over all others, and nothing else. Each power concentrated only on how to "limit" the other so as to maintain its own superiority. The United States and the Soviet Union indeed wished to "limit" the costs of supporting their monopoly of terror, but the costs nevertheless continued to rise astronomically even as they talked. As to how their contradictions were ever to be resolved, "We are not their chiefs of staff!" He said, "Don't cherish any illusion in that kind of 'disarmament'. For 25 years, they have all along been engaged in arms expansion, and not at all disarmament."

Speaking of China's "world outlook," Premier Chou quoted Chairman Mao's words: "The people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90 percent of the entire population, sooner or later want revolution. . . ." According to Chairman Mao, he said, the danger of a world war still exists, and the people of all countries must be prepared. But "revolution is the main trend in the world today."

The Premier said that Chairman Mao's statement of May 20, 1970, foresees prospects for an American revolution. Indeed no one can speak seriously to responsible leaders here without noticing their intense interest in the signs they detect of disintegration of American capitalist society. Clearly Chairman Mao is not expecting an early American revolution, however, nor seeking to build China's foreign policy on that speculation. The policy for which China seeks adherence is more limited. It calls not only for American troops to be withdrawn from Asia and Taiwan, but also for all foreign troops "to be withdrawn from all territories they are occupying, and go home, so that people of all countries may enjoy the right to solve their problems on their own without any menace or interference from the outside."

My own impression after nearly six months here is that the recovery of political stability and economic growth are now a first priority, while abroad China seeks the renewal and expansion of state-to-state ties on the basis of the old Bandung principles of peaceful coexistence. China does not aspire to become a nuclear superpower but aims at credible deterrent power while seeking to end superpower domination in world affairs with the cooperation of the medium and small powers. Relying on her own means however, China has never been so well prepared for war, and to frustrate American military and political purposes in Asia by fulfilling her obligations to support Hanoi and the Indochinese peoples allied with Hanoi.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Wanda

(Bardene International)

A New Leaf

(Paramount)

Probably the most difficult subject to make interesting in art these days is the prole. For at least 20 years, our esthetic attention has centered on such matters as alienation, communication, and identity crisis, problems that are the prerogatives of those who don't have to worry about tomorrow's grub. When a film or play or novel deals with blue-collar folk, we get an anticipatory feeling of *déjà vu*, as if the subject has already been well dealt with in art and there is little to add. In certain senses this is true: snobbish as it sounds, the range of interest in the truck-driver tends to be less than in the advertising executive (even). Most proletarian art deals chiefly with injustice, and most of what changes from one proletarian work to another is the data.

Just because I believe this, *Wanda* is all the more welcome. It's about a working-class girl, and it goes past mere authenticity to some depth, therefore to aspects of universality. At least equally impressive, it marks the writing and directing debut of Barbara Loden, who also plays Wanda and who distinguishes herself in all three fields. Miss Loden is well known as a theater actress. Her performance of the Marilyn Monroe role is about all I remember favorably from the first production of Miller's *After the Fall*. Still I – and most others, I think – would not have expected her to be able to write and direct a film as good as this. Her performance, too, has surprising qualities.

Wanda, I guess, is meant as a homonym for wander. She's a Polish-American girl, from the Pennsylvania coal fields, who drifts away from her husband and two small children simply because she lacks the power to feel for them; drifts with no more luggage than her pocketbook into a motel with a traveling salesman; then drifts into a liaison with a nearly psychopathic criminal. Somehow his fits of fury bind her to him; she is unable to leave the comfort of that fury even when she knows she is coasting with him into crime. We sense that his outbursts are the strongest show of true feeling that anyone has ever offered her and since she has no great depths of feeling to offer anyone else, she clings to the strongest feeling that comes her way.

The man's bank-robbing plan fails, and he is killed; through her persistent stupidity (she gets to the bank too late to play her part), she escapes. Then, after resisting a sexual assault from still another pickup and after bursting into tears for the first time, she seems launched on a career as a barroom hustler.

This is most distinctly not a crime story, not a low-budget *Bonnie and Clyde*. It concentrates on Wanda, on the accidents of her strictured life, which happen to include an encounter with a criminal. It's a modest account of a pilgrimage, even if unknowing and squalid, from beginnings that had numbed her powers of response or protest, through various kinds of disregard and abuse, with almost complete acceptance. The film succeeds in large measure because it's quietly made, taciturn in its fierce concentration on this nearly dumb creature, and because it almost never asks for pathos. Every effort is at succinct chronicle, so gradually Wanda acquires, in her vulnerability and her humiliations, some aspects of an agonist. I know nothing of Miss Loden's religious beliefs, but this strikes me as essentially a Catholic film.

Michael Higgins plays the robber with excellent egocentric madness, yet telling us that this man is the product of his life, living it out as defensively as he can. Miss Loden is very careful not to play Wanda as a victim; she makes her a victim by playing her as a girl who is struggling every moment of her life. The struggle is weak and handicapped, the results are misfortunes and defeats, but she never pities herself, until the very end. The last shot is a freeze-frame – one of the few really apt recent uses of that device – in which Wanda sees that the rest of her life is going to be a steep slide, and not a long one. Wanda looks like an easy part, but it would be easy only for an inferior actress. Miss Loden succeeds beautifully because, inside the cage of inadequacy, we sense the bafflement and fruitless fight. Her performance is sure to be widely underrated because it's not the least bit showy; but it's a work of understanding, imagination, and talent.

Her direction and writing are not much less talented. The film was shot in 16mm, now blown up to 35mm, so the texture is grainy and the color mediocre, but – *ex post facto* rationale, perhaps – the look of it fits the subject. Some shots, like Wanda in white walking through the coal fields, are a little arty. But note, for instance, a sequence near the end: Wanda stands in front of a tavern window; a girl comes out of the bar, passes her, goes up an outside stairway, appears at a window on the other side, comes down again and comes around to Wanda – all shot from one position with a panning camera, the action designed so that one position could accommodate it and so that we get the feel of a web being woven around Wanda.

The virtues (considerable) and faults (few) of the writing can be shown in one passage. During her first night in bed with the robber, Wanda says to his back, "Mr. Dennis, don't you want to know *my* name?" A life is in that line. Without turning, he replies, "No." A touch too heavy. If he had just grunted or said nothing, had just let her line hang there, the point would have been unhammered.

In the last three or four years, a number of attempts have been made, of varying worth, to deal with American life as it is. Almost all of them have dealt with the young or near young, exemplifying aspects of complicated social or political crisis, with at least some attributes of intellection. But, as Robert Coles and others keep reminding us, most of the country, like most of the people on earth, do not live at that level; Hobbes' state of nature – with life nasty, brutish, and short – hasn't changed much for them in three centuries. Wanda came out of a society that had ravaged her afferent powers and her adaptive intelligence long before she was on her own. Miss Loden's triumph is that she has realized this truth without stopping at case history; her writing, direction,

(Continued on page 37)

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John K. Fairbank: Virtues that Bring Disaster

Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-45 by Barbara W. Tuchman

(Macmillan; $10)

Barbara Tuchman's Joe Stilwell has all the best American traits of character – energy, ingenuity, grit, gumption, self-deprecation. You quickly identify with him. Only after finishing this brilliant biography do you realize that these are the same virtues that have taken us onto the moon, into Vietnam and Cambodia and over Laos. In short, Stilwell is a paragon of those all-American virtues that are leading us to our compound disaster at home and abroad. Mrs. Tuchman does not quite point this moral, but it suggests itself forcibly in our current mood of reappraisal. Stilwell comes out of her colorful story as about the best we had to offer to meet China's wartime problems, but what he had to offer was not good enough. He couldn't scratch where it itched. The American effort in China in World War II was not geared in with the Chinese Revolution. It was largely irrelevant to the needs of the people.

Stilwell and the American Experience in China begins by showing us an intelligent and hard-driving young West Pointer who trained himself to meet the demands of duty, honor, country. He had already made himself an athlete, both a quarterback and a quarter-miler at Yonkers High. At West Point he survived the hazing of plebe year (though a couple of boys unfortunately died) and continued to be an athlete despite his medium stature and slight build. He was a born competitor. By 1904 he was with the infantry in the Philippines; by 1906 he was back at West Point instructing in French and Spanish and coaching athletics (he had introduced basketball). In the summers he got assignments to travel in Guatemala and Mexico, and then in 1911 to the Philippines again by way of Japan and China, where at the end of the year he took a first look at the Chinese Revolution. He had already acquired his special interest in foreign peoples and languages on the American frontier in the Far East.

After teaching again at West Point, this time history and Spanish, Stilwell like all his military generation was suddenly yanked out of the peripheral routines of the peacetime army by America's entry into World War I. In 1917 he was 34 and ready to prove himself. First he found that he had a special knack as a trainer of troops. The American army's task, as at Plattsburgh, was to train a million men in no time flat. But soon Major Stilwell was needed in France to talk French with our allies. He became a G-2 planner of the St. Mihiel offensive, where he worked with George C. Marshall as G-3, head of operations. St. Mihiel was a success, and talented soldiers made their mark for the future, before peace supervened and the army shrank back to its peacetime size. It was not yet a major industry.

In 1919 Stilwell escaped the peacetime doldrums by becoming the first Army language officer appointed to China. He began with Chinese language study at Berkeley and then went to Peking. Much of the '20's he spent in North China, first as a language student under the legation for three years and then, for another three years, with the 15th Infantry at Tientsin, where George Marshall had preceded him. Finally, Stilwell spent the late 1930's as military attaché at Peking. During these assignments he traveled all over the country. He acquired a great fondness for the common people and for the rugged out-door life that travel in China required.

When Marshall was jumped to become chief of staff in the crisis of 1941, Stilwell was without doubt the top American military man for China purposes, but Mrs. Tuchman brings out another important aspect of his career. Between his assignments overseas, Stilwell's performance in the United States had marked him out as one of the best trainers and leaders of troops in the professional army. During peace time it had of course dwindled almost out of sight again, and in September, 1939 numbered only 174,000 men. In maneuvers Stilwell showed uncommon initiative and ingenuity, a real aptitude for blitzkrieg. By 1940 he was a general in command of a division in training in California. He was not "book-bound" but inventive, absolutely unsparing of himself and others, and "very cold blooded" about people's performance. He kept in close touch with his men and was already well known for his hostility to anyone who put on airs. He led marches himself, wore informal dress, and loved to talk with G.I.s.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Stilwell was picked by Marshall to command GYMNAST, which was to be the first American offensive of the war in North Africa. This was because Marshall considered him from the evidence of maneuvers "a masterly tactician, fertile, ingenious, and confident; a student of military history and excellent in training," as Mrs. Tuchman summarizes it. Stilwell was the first among the Army's nine corps commanders in order of merit, and if he had eventually commanded the North African landing, no doubt he would have gone on up in the European theatre, at least to a post like that of Bradley. But the Chinese crisis changed all that.

Stilwell is a great subject for study because he wrote constantly and quite well, and his record in the hands of a skilled craftsman like Mrs. Tuchman comes to life. This book will be a major protagonist in the continuing controversy about China in World War II.

The epic struggle between Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek can be viewed in several frameworks, from several angles. From the point of view of the Chinese revolution, Stilwell's criticisms

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of the miserable evils in the Chinese military establishment contribute to our understanding of the KMT collapse. Chiang had an outworn power structure based on loyalty, not efficiency. Stilwell sympathized with the common soldier and distrusted Chinese officers in general because of their corruption and callousness. Mrs. Tuchman is undoubtedly right that if Stilwell's remaking of the Chinese army had been allowed to proceed, it would have created troops and commanders who would eventually have shattered Chiang's power structure and no doubt produced some kind of military takeover. Chiang could see it coming, and Mrs. Tuchman makes his predicament quite understandable. In dealing with Stilwell, Chiang was up against a hard-bitten efficiency expert with a fantastic drive for combat achievement, backed by the influence of American supplies, while neither efficiency nor combat was Chiang's major concern. He was against the revolution that the Communists had long since captured out from under him, and the Chinese war effort demanded by the Americans could only be further unsettling to the status quo. The tendency would be to get the Chinese Communists into it with American supplies but this would quite upset Chiang's rickety applecart. He had to fight off Stilwell's being given real command. Chiang succeeded in blocking this attempt and getting Stilwell recalled in October 1944 because by this time China had lost any importance in the American war effort against Japan.

If we use Mrs. Tuchman's book to get a perspective on Stilwell from the point of view of the American expansion abroad, the story comes out somewhat differently. Stilwell lost out but so did Chiang. Mrs. Tuchman shows us first of all an over-riding American self-righteousness, bent on killing Japs to win the war, the mission for which the military had been trained, which formed their ethos. In pursuit of this goal, the American military were the slaves of technological progress, obliged by their sense of duty to develop quickly all the potentialities of organization and fire-power and get results in combat. The American military mission was not primarily nor even secondarily political. Where the ancient Chinese military classic, the *Sun-tzu*, had set the aim of warfare as bending the opponent to one's will and getting him to surrender by whatever means, the American military technicians were more concerned with creating striking forces and solving the logistic and supply problems necessary to lay down a field of fire. What might happen after peace broke out was distinctly not their responsibility. They were trained not to think about it.

Added to this difference in style and aim was the fact that the Americans were using China for the allegedly common purpose of defeating Japan. They complained when China did not want to be so used and seemed more concerned with its domestic revolution. At this point the Americans as foreigners could do little to affect the Chinese situation. Stilwell got some of his Chinese-speaking State Department officers up to see the Communists at Yenan, and this Military Observer Mission (naturally named the "Dixie Mission") momentarily opened up the chance that the Americans and the Chinese Communists might develop a working relationship and at least avoid fighting each other. This constructive possibility was quickly torpedoed, however, by the gut reactions and general mindlessness of our ambassador (Hurley), in a situation where American power, demonstrated in the coming victory over Japan, seemed to make objectivity and the weighing of realities in China unnecessary.

Though no one has wanted to spell it out, the idea of an American general really commanding Chinese armies in the proto-revolutionary China of the 1940's was a prescription full of poison. It could very well have got the American military lined up in the name of law and order against the revolution. It was of a piece with the naive American assumption that Chiang's ancient regime could somehow be saved by "reform." Stilwell's command of China's forces might have eventuated in a far greater disaster than his recall. His candidacy showed the bankruptcy of our attempt to mastermind a war effort out of an exhausted regime.

Stilwell is thus enshrined for us as a symbol of American know-how and fortitude, the can-do spirit, dynamic and indomitable, a curmudgeon but humane and efficient. He lived his China career in the time of Sino-American friendship, when we had a good deal of contact people to people. Happily for him, he did not live to see us become enemies, and he did not enter the nuclear age of limited wars, when the old all-out virtues not only cannot ensure our survival but actually endanger it. Mrs. Tuchman's story puts Stilwell on the roll of great captains who tried and were foiled by fate, from Hannibal to Robert E. Lee. They all seem to have lived a long time ago, in a past age when heroism was sufficient unto itself.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN FAIRBANK *is the director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard University.* PETER CAWS *teaches philosophy at Hunter College.* LOUIS COXE *teaches English at Bowdoin College.*

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Louis Coxe: Six Adaptable Explorers

Easter Island: Island of Enigmas by John Dos Passos

(Doubleday; $6.95)

Apparently this book is Dos Passos' last work. How he came to write it he tells us at the start, and though one may feel that it is too bad he did not visit the island and write his book as a younger man, one's glad to have it on these terms. The author had evidently read Captain Cook's *Voyages* and other accounts as well. They worked on his imagination for the best part of a lifetime, it seems, and just before he died he went to Easter Island and on his return, I assume, put together six accounts of earlier visits and concluded with his own. No information is given as to who translated three of the four narratives, but Pierre Loti's account Dos Passos translated himself, presumably some years before this book was prepared. The captains' narratives tell us a lot about Easter Island but even more about the men themselves, their profession and their age.

What an able, curious, intelligent set they were! The details of their piloting and seamanship, and their ease with not so easy navigational problems, such matters are bound to interest anyone who likes to see that sort of high competence at work. And they wrote well. Perhaps the translators, whoever they are, should have the credit at least in part, but we sense that for all the apparent rigidity of the discipline these captains served, they themselves were a supple and adaptable sort, the best kind of sailormen in the great age of sail. It comes as a shock to have the American, Paymaster Thomson, whose vessel, the USS Mohican, visited the island in 1886, succeed these types, for the Paymaster is as American as can be imagined, down to the official bureaucratic jargon and the total addiction to the passive voice. Put him in the Pentagon and he will serve Melvin Laird with a will. But William Thomson *was* conscientious, thorough and diligent; his account is the most systematic, as his exploration was the longest and widest-ranging, of the six involved. He is the only professional or quasi-professional archeologist-scientist of the lot, which in part accounts for his virtues and defects as an observer.

The four captains, Dutch, Spanish, English and French, and all four highly competent professionals (notably of course Cook and La Perouse), have each his say about the island, the various maritime and piloting problems thereof, the natives, terrain, supplies of food and water. But of course the famous statues, those huge, brooding, enigmatic images whose unexplained presence and mysteriousness still have the power to fascinate, above all tease their fancy and tempt them into exploration and theorising. National and racial characteristics show up here with great charm and pungency. I note that only the Dutch gave violence to the natives – they shot some ten or twelve; more from nervousness one would think, but they seem to have been the only crew that went ashore in the military manner.

All of the foregoing might imply that the island itself provides less interest than the interested men, and perhaps, for the general reader rather than the investigator such is the case. But for one reader anyhow the high point of the book is Dos Passos' own translation of Pierre Loti's account of his visit to Faster Island in 1872. The young French cadet, on this training cruise, has the sharpest kind of eye coupled with romantic feeling and great zest – Dos Passos gets it all in its freshness and immediacy. He notices the people, responds to them, and they to him. He imagines their lives as he imagines the statues. The island is full of bones but nothing seems dead to him, nor can one imagine him being bored. He says of one old chief ". . . sitting still in some animal posture he would be hideous to look on if it weren't for the extreme gentleness of his eyes." Perhaps one may be forgiven for wishing

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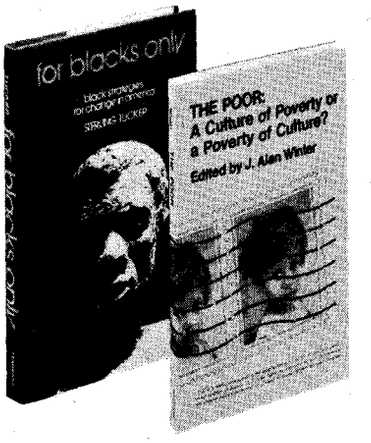
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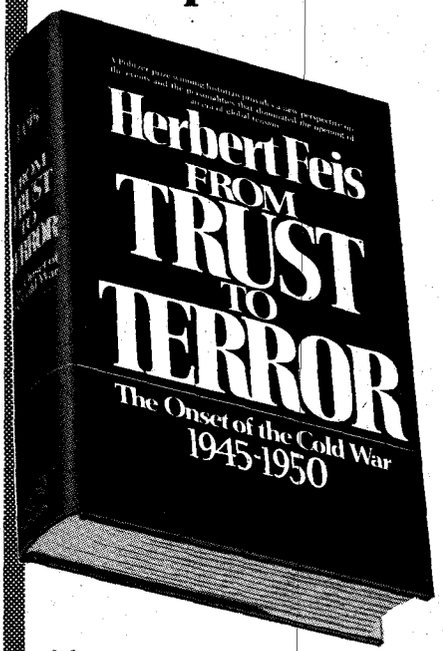

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that the author's introductory and concluding pages were similar in tone and feeling.

I feel certain that Dos Passos well knew what he was up to when he edited as he did, putting the USS Mohican and Paymaster Thomson as the penultimate naval visitors to Easter Island, the helicopters and carrier of the French fleet as the ultimate. The USS Mohican came to Easter Island in 1886 to show the flag of course, but equally obviously, and typically, to do a good American job of total investigation to the extent that resources allowed. Thomson prepared himself in advance, took every advantage of the talents of a Mr. Salmon who translated for him, and had his account published by the American Museum in Washington. When Dos Passos landed in 1969, from a Chilean Catalina, he found the island overrun by crewmen from the French naval vessels lying off the island – on a training cruise. No one like Pierre Loti this time! Dos Passos and his party ran afoul of Gallic rudeness and duly remarked upon it, while helicopters ground overhead and a crew subsidized in part by PARIS-MATCH worked at setting up some of the fallen statues. The Americanisation (with a French accent) of the world has reached the island, as it had reached Paymaster Thomson and the language eighty years before in what Russell Baker calls Pentaquack.

Some photographs which I found only mildly interesting, but some nice reproductions of sketches, too few for my taste, a reproduction of an oil by Cook's draftsman which must be remarkable, and another of a watercolor by Loti that looked interesting too. But the book is more than worth the price despite its brevity.

Peter Caws: Language as the Human Reality

The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences by Michael Foucault

(Pantheon; $10)

The Order of Things was originally published in 1966 under the title *Les Mots et les choses* ("words and things"). But Ernest Gellner in England and Roger Brown in America have already published books called *Words and Things*, and according to a publisher's note Michel Foucault prefers *The Order of Things* anyway. He might have combined these options and had a much more descriptive title by settling for *The Order of Words and the Order of Things*.

To give some idea of the general problem to which the book addresses itself I begin with an exercise. Consider the words *word* and *thing*. They are words all right, anyone can see that. But they are also things, fragmentary objects consisting of rows of black marks. Not ordinary things, however, like rocks or trees; words belong to a system of things having special uses and powers, which draw the attention of people who have learned the system to other things, of which they serve as signs. The people are a necessary part of the arrangement, since without them the words would be *mere* things. For all the evidence available to the impartial observer, the people are things too – complex and self-moving to be sure, but indisputably *material* just as the rocks and the trees and the words themselves are. So the whole world might be thought of as a vast set of things, having the curious property that some of the things – the people – use some of the other things – the words – as counters in a game they are always playing, a game that takes

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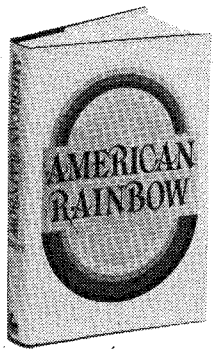

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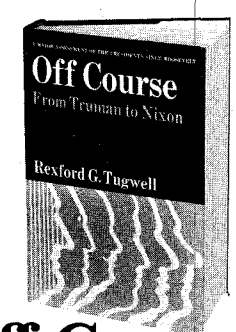

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forms as diverse as science and poetry, religion and philosophy, a game of *ordering* (and hence of understanding) all the things there are, including the words and the people.

The game is self-conscious: part of it consists in trying to understand its own rules, whence the analytic (as opposed to the speculative) functions of philosophy. Also it has not always been played by the same rules, so that another part of it consists in trying to understand the ways the rules have changed, whence the history of science, of philosophy and so on. But here a difficulty arises. To put things in order we must first get our hands on them, and the *past*, the subject-matter of history, is by definition no longer available for examination. Fortunately for the investigator, however, words in their written form tend to leave themselves behind as *traces* of the activity that produced them; libraries are full of them, conveniently packaged in books and manuscripts. When Foucault calls his book *An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* he refers to the digging he has done among the shards of our intellectual culture.

The archaeologist, finding a coin here, a pot there, reconstructs cities and civilizations. Foucault, turning over words with immense scholarship and erudition, reconstructs a group of intellectual activities collectively called in French the *sciences humaines*, roughly the humanities and social sciences with a few contiguous elements of biological and medical science thrown in. Instead of Babylon or Troy, he gives us Natural History or General Grammar. This archaeological model, which poses as a problem the identity and continuity of the very disciplines being studied (instead of assuming, for example, that there has always been something recognizable as biology), seems to me an important contribution not only to the history of science but to intellectual history in general. The realization that *all historical evidence is contemporary* (just as fossils, mummies, Roman villas exist *now*, not in the past of which they are the remains), while obvious enough once it is pointed out, puts things in a genuinely new light. All history becomes archaeology. We have no past, only the present traces of a past.

Just as the archaeologist uncovers one layer after another, separated by horizons that indicate more or less abrupt changes of circumstance, so Foucault divides the history of the *sciences humaines* into three ages, each marked by an *episteme* or dominant theory of knowledge, separated from one another by discontinuities at the beginning of the 17th century and at the end of the 19th. The first is the Renaissance, during which the rule that linked the order of words to the order of things was *Resemblance:* words had a natural affinity for what they named, signs were to be found inscribed in things as though by the hand of God. Language constituted a "fourth natural kingdom," as de Saussure puts it; and if language was natural, nature was also a language – the whole world was written, a great Book in which the significance of each episode contributed to an essentially moral interpretation of the universe.

By contrast the rule in the Classical age, which followed, was *Representation*. Language was no longer *part* of the world but a net *thrown over* the world: it criticized, classified, analyzed. The boundary is marked by Don Quixote, who in the first part of Cervantes' book is engaged in a search for resemblance – flocks become armies, windmills become giants – whereas in the second part he *is* an example of representation, the man about whom the first part was written. But Don Quixote's life is purely exterior. Two hundred years later the Classical age closes, according to Foucault, with the Marquis de Sade, who seeks to reach the limit in the representation of an interior life, the life of Desire. But desire breaks through representation: life asserts itself directly, and is to be confronted without the intermediacy of a language thrown over the world, which protected while it interpreted. In the Modern age that now opens up, the *subject* is as it were naked towards the world, deprived both of the comfort that came from an objective intelligibility in things and of the sense of mastery that came from a confidence in the adequacy of language. Language is now an object in the world, whose significance is no longer intrinsic. As such it is open to manipulation of a kind that was impossible when it was a vehicle for representation: it becomes a material for formalization and for literary construction in styles previously unthinkable.

While in the Classical age the disciplines that Foucault calls General Grammar, Natural History, and the

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Analysis of Wealth represented linguistic, biological, and economic facts, they did not constitute sciences of man. It remained for the modern age to identify *language, life,* and *labor* as the objects of the sciences of linguistics, biology, and economics. And the emergence of this new objectivity poses for the first time a question that had been concealed by the ambiguous status of language in the earlier epochs. Who is it, exactly, that speaks, lives, works? Obviously, in one sense, people; obviously, in another sense, you and me. But neither the radical objectivity of people as things, nor the radical subjectivity of the individual self, seems a satisfactory *general* answer to the question. And so at the beginning of the Modern age Man was invented. "Before the end of the eighteenth century, *man* did not exist. . . . He is a quite recent creature, which the demiurge of knowledge fabricated with its own hands less than two hundred years ago: but he has grown old so quickly that it is only too easy to imagine that he had been waiting for thousands of years in the darkness for that moment of illumination in which he would finally be known. Of course, it is possible to object that general grammar, natural history, and the analysis of wealth were all, in a sense, ways of recognizing the existence of man. . . . But there was no epistemological consciousness of man as such. The Classical *episteme* is articulated along lines that do not isolate, in any way, a specific domain proper to man." And the specific domain that the Modern age did isolate for man is, of course, the domain of the human sciences.

But a difficulty presents itself. It is characteristic of man that he *is not* that which his consciousness presents to him; he *is* his consciousness, not its object, as phenomenology and existentialism have stressed before. In what sense, then, can he be the object of the human sciences? With respect to the world amenable to scientific analysis, man turns out to be *absence;* not physical absence, since people still have bodies, but metaphysical absence, because the subject cannot be located in an objective world. Now if man is absence, the human sciences are an aberration; they need to be redefined to account for the emptiness of their center. The direction of this redefinition must be, according to Foucault, towards the reestablishment of Lan-

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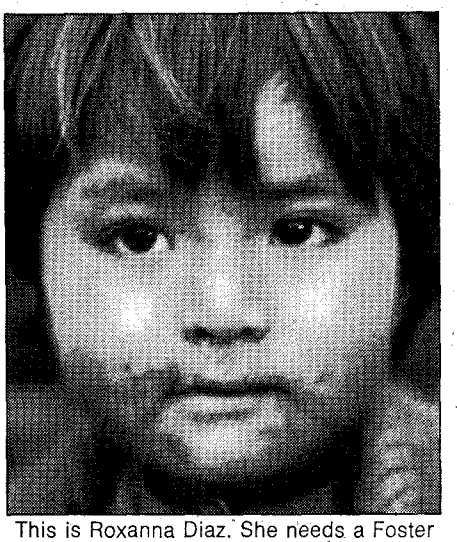

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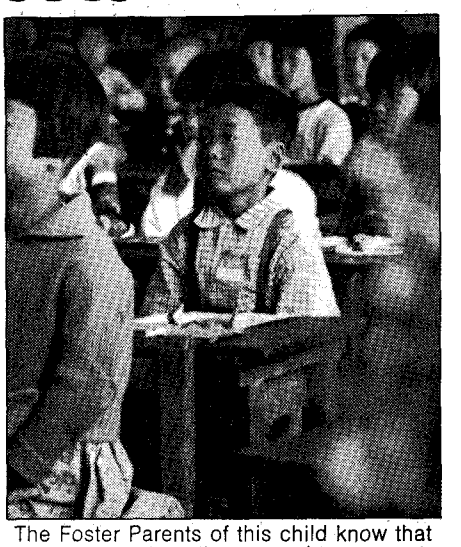
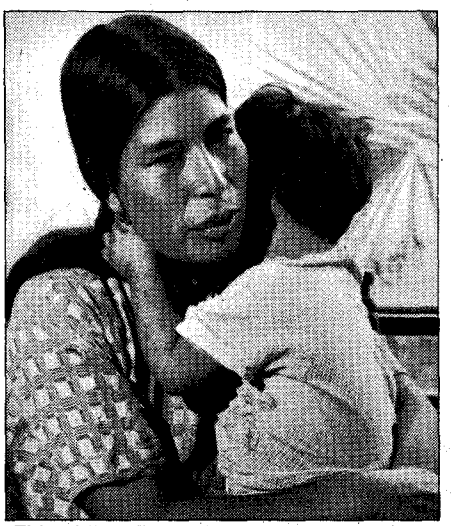
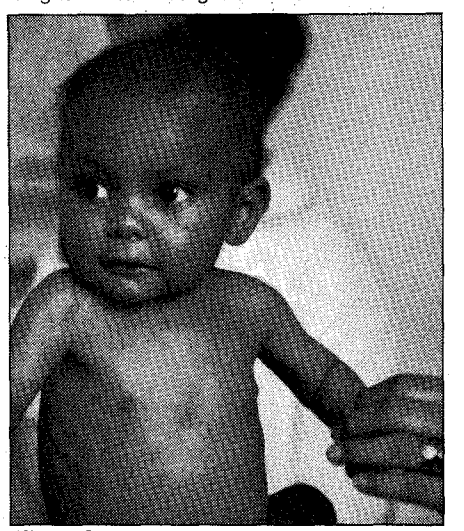


The Foster Parents of this child know that without their contribution of $16 a month Kang Choong, his brothers and sisters might never have gone to school.



This child's Foster Parents have given her mother someone to turn to for guidance, to teach her a trade and help her escape the endless trap of poverty.



Elana Castilla and her family would probably never see a doctor. Never receive the medical care, health counseling and vitamins they need to survive.

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guage as the true human reality, no longer, as in the sixteenth century, because its meaning is given to us objectively, but because our meanings are given subjectively by it. We do not so much speak it as it speaks us; we are spectators of its activity in us, and we have learned from Freud and from writers like Artaud how little, in fact, we have to do with the determination of what it does to us. The *episteme* that is beginning to emerge, in the preoccupation with the unconscious and with structure, is one in which *man* as an objective category will no longer have a place; if it were to establish itself "man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea."

This doctrine of the "end of man" is what has made Foucault notorious and controversial in France. But it does not in my opinion constitute the main point of the book, which lies in its novel approach to the history of science. *The Order of Things* will not, however, fit easily into the bibliography of that discipline as practiced in the English-speaking world. Foucault's *episteme*, it is true, reminds one irresistibly of T. S. Kuhn's *paradigm*, and his discontinuities of Kuhn's revolutions, but it is not clear that any easy link between the two can be established. Foucault and Kuhn worked in complete independence of one another – at any rate each disclaimed, not so long ago, any knowledge of the other – and it would certainly be worth while for some diligent scholar to investigate the parallel, if any, between their results. The notion of archaeology is, as I have indicated, an extraordinarily fertile one, and in a later book (*L'Archéologie du savoir*) Foucault has given it much more explicit attention. But the intellectual movement to which *The Order of Things* makes its most obvious contribution is, of course, structuralism.

Here, however, the English version puts the critic in a quandary. *Les Mots et les choses*, when it was first published, was immediately labeled "structuralist," and in a new foreword directed at the English-speaking reader Foucault makes no attempt to conceal his scorn and disgust for the "half-witted commentators" who perpetrated this blasphemy. "I have been unable to get it into their tiny minds that I have used none of the methods, concepts, or key terms that characterize structural analysis." The importance of structuralism, though, lies I think only partly in the techniques of analysis that the linguists first designated by the name, and Foucault's disclaimer, while understandable enough in the light of the frenetic enthusiasm of French philosophical fashion, seems to me unnecessarily misleading in the wider context of the recent history of philosophy. For structuralism, by which I understand the view that significance arises only out of a matching of the structured complexities of mind on the one hand and the world on the other, is precisely the philosophical outlook best equipped to deal with the post-humanist epoch Foucault anticipates, an epoch in which we will have to come to terms finally with the lack of all transcendence, with the ultimate impossibility of explaining our condition in terms of its origin or history or material basis, and in which the circularity and self-mirroring character of the human will force us, for our own preservation, to an understanding of the structures within which we are confined.

The Order of Things is not an easy book, nor a particularly lucid one. It does not always succeed in avoiding the three deadly sins of French intellectual prose, which are verbosity, pomposity, and preciosity, and the English translation – which is anonymous – does not help matters much. It is idiosyncratic in its use of sources and in its interpretation of philosophical history. But from the citation of a fabulous bestiary of Borges at the beginning of the preface to man's expulsion from the scientific Eden at the end of the last chapter it displays an extraordinary range of information and imagination, and its theses ought to be taken note of and learned from by Anglo-American practitioners of a tradition in the social sciences that has still not entirely freed itself from a somewhat jaded and stereotyped positivism.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF APARTHEID
Amry Vandenbosch

At its formation in 1910, the Union of South Africa enjoyed the respect of the world. Today, it is a pariah among the nations. This account relates its domestic policy of white supremacy to its foreign policy which anxiously and strenuously protected that domestic policy from outside interference.

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Television

Speak Up, Man

Less than five years ago I read out to a group of urban affairs officials at a meeting an ad I had seen for a new nonreturnable container. The ad said that with the production of this marvelous new whatsis no company putting its ickies in it would have to worry, no retailer would have to worry, no consumer would have to worry, nobody would have to worry. After use the container would be gone from sight and mind. I looked around the table at assembled mayors, administrators and engineers, hoping for a response from them. But no, I had to make the response for these practical city folk: the container when emptied of its ickies would *not* be gone, it would be a charge of the city until it was *made* gone.

Five years later, the disposable container has become so menacing that merely to mention it is to get an eyebrow. Cities all over the land, bless them, are now lumbering against disposables. Disposables are being phased out of production by some companies and bought up by others as if they

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were nondisposables (I grant that utopia is not yet here; our own local milk company, against the trend, is now phasing out the one-quart milk bottle).

Five years ago my urban affairs people talked more about cars than containers, and with justice. Cars have not been hit by anything comparable to the anti-disposables campaign. In fact the campaign to reduce car exhausts has merely diverted city man's attention from his real enemy – which is the car itself – so that in 1971 nothing seems more permanent than the yoke the suburban car commuter has placed upon his city's neck.

Yet here and now I make a preposterous two-bit prophecy: in another five years the current city fatalism about the car – that it is here forever – will change as drastically as has the attitude toward disposable containers.

There will be, I see in my crystal ball, a grand breakthrough against suburbia soon. Some city suddenly will pass an effective tax on car commuting, or some city suddenly will be able to channel significant numbers of people into new public transportation. Or block with 24-hour-a-day firehoses a significant number of cars from going down town. Or beat back a new freeway or parking ramp. Somewhere, somebody I don't know *will* break the back somehow of the great car trust. And, as with all seemingly permanent, immovable, unyieldable forces in this country, the car trust will then be an old toothless hasbeen looking for a ride. Cars caught on Main Street in daylight hours will be shot dead. To be seen driving alone to work will be like being caught expectorating (shudder) in a public place.

And what has all this to do with TV? I say to you, my fellow receivers of communal attitudes, that TV is a big reason why we keep having enormous and sudden social, cultural and industrial switcharoos. We need to worry a lot about switcharoos, the ones headed our way as well as the ones that just passed through, the causes and agents of switches as well as the switches themselves. For each switch, whether it be for foul or fair, has repercussions. Indeed the prophesying of big switches has become a crucial social and economic art among us. Urban affairs people need to learn the art fast and learn it well, or be left mayhap with an infinity of unprofitable parking ramps. Crusty rich doctors need to learn the art or be left idly golfing, by socialized medicine. I would like to imagine that military people need to learn it well too, but my crystal ball sees no movement at all there except toward more of *them*. Anyway, awash in the new fluidity, we need badly to be alert to switcharoos in our respective niches in life, and one of the sound ways to be alert is watch the tube. What the tube in its random wisdom decides is happening happens.

I would like to propose something a bit more affirmative, however, than just watching the tube. I think we should watch tube *people*. The mogols, the giants behind the scenes, the decisionmakers.

Somebody will doubtless send me a subscription to a TV trade mag, and that will be that – but I have more in mind. I think TV is endowed for no good reason with an enormous secrecy about vital matters – why it is doing what and when, who decides what and by what criteria – and that this secrecy is wholly wrong when public attitudes, and the changing thereof, are involved.

We see the mogols occasionally at public hearings; otherwise we hear of them only through their PR departments. At the crucial decision level they are much more carefully shielded from public scrutiny than any public servant. We hear and see what they want us to. We are programmed to their sanitized public thoughts rather than being treated to their genuine private convictions. Nothing that we can see is live. Sometimes I think nothing *is* live, back there behind the

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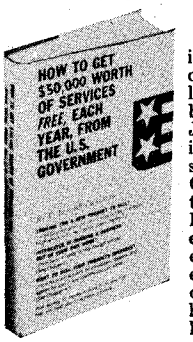

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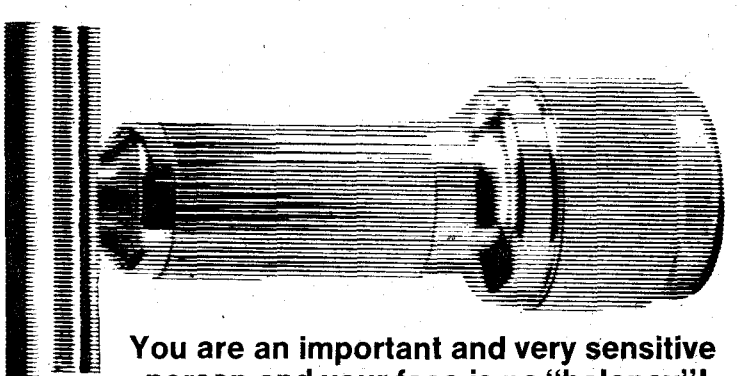

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tube's gray glaze; it's all polls, computers, cash registers. But if this is the case, then it would be real george to put something live back there. If it is not the case and something is alive, surely listening to some real live intelligences on high would be beneficial. My thoughts haven't reached the action stage; I just want to listen and to look. And the more I think about the simplicity of my desires the more astonishing it is to me that big decisions like launching a new weekly program or putting on a new special have been thought up to now to be properly only private, corporate, behind-the-scenes matters. I mean, what the hell? Do our presidents program new wars behind our backs?

I'm talking about the tube as a conditioner, and saying that public conditioning needs public involvement.

Conditioning is not advertising, is not promotion in the ordinary sense. True, I would like to watch some of the decision-making about advertising too – what do those Anacin people say to each other when they plan a new series? Who got what from whom by putting on an exceedingly shady one-hour special just before the Ali-Frazier fight? etc. But advertising and promotion, which are the ordinary bread and butter of TV, and which are also that part of TV to which the cries of corruption are usually directed (cries in this column as well as elsewhere), are becoming a relatively small part of the big conditioning scene. The public needs to be treated decently by the admen; we need to have controls over the admen, and need to work toward means of greater control over their natural money lust – but we shouldn't imagine that by a few new FTC rules about truth in ads we will achieve control; nor should we imagine that ads and ordinarily designed promotion are stage center in the conditioning business. Stage center now is where the mogols of TV itself are, only they keep the curtain down.

Let's get the curtain up. As a starter I suggest a weekly hour program – a panel affair with presidents and producers from the different networks – talking about new, upcoming things: what they will consist of, why they were decided on, what they will cost, what were the major considerations in decisions and productions. I even imagine the arrival on the scene of honesty, as opposed to PR releases; and to keep the moguls honest I imagine questioners like Mike Wallace, not-too-antagonistically inclined members of consumer groups and the like. I fear antagonism and confrontation, we will get no secrets that-a-way; but I fear the easy PR treatment too – the program will have to work toward a balance. Ideally on the program these maybe smart and certainly powerful people *would* be honest and open; we could see them; the tube would suddenly, for the first time in history, show its own top people as humans, and stop being a vaudeville act run by absentee heels. Of course the top people may turn out to be worse than heels, but even this development would be an improvement over our current ignorance.

I can imagine a day when the mogols will talk frankly (and the people's reps will talk frankly back), and the great charade will be at an end.

Sedulus

"A YOUNG CONVICT *we know desired to go to a California college upon his release from prison. Understandably short of funds, he applied for financial assistance and was told that the California state welfare department would in fact give financial aid to ex-convicts — but only to make a down-payment on a car; not to go to college.*"

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Correspondence

Radiation

Sirs:

Ralph E. Lapp's article on radiation risks (February 27, 1971) either ignored or glossed over three problems.

The first is the problem of genetic mutations caused by ionizing radiation. The exact relationship between radiation and mutations in humans is not known but the evidence indicates that there is no minimum threshold (i.e. one quantum of radiation produces some effect), and the effects of radiation are cumulative. This latter is important; while a dose of about 500 R to the whole body will kill 50 percent of those exposed if given all at once the same dose spread over ten years would probably kill fewer than 1 percent of those exposed. This is a non-cumulative effect. But at the end of those ten years the number of genetic mutations caused would be about as many as if the dosage had been given all at once. At present about one birth in 20 involves some minor, major or lethal defect. While it is not known how many of these could be ascribed to radiation it certainly seems unwise to expose the population at large to an additional dose 1.5 times as great as background.

Secondly the problems of waste disposal and reprocessing have been considered serious by some experts; they were not mentioned by Mr. Lapp.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, is the problem raised by the Zeroists, who "oppose any growth in power." Mr. Lapp dismisses their opposition as not being "a real option for a dynamic economy." There are two things I would say to this. Firstly, merely because there is no satisfactory economic theory dealing with a steady-state economy we cannot assume that full employment is impossible without continuous growth in our rate of consumption. Secondly I would ask Mr. Lapp for how long he wants our power consumption to grow. Surely it is obvious that this is a finite planet and that sooner or later growth will have to stop, and, that like overeating, the sooner we stop the easier it will be.

David Policansky
Eugene, Oregon

In reply. . .

The three articles I wrote for *The New Republic* dealt with the nuclear *plant* controversy. Obviously, had I extended the coverage to the total spectrum of nuclear energy, I would have had to start with uranium in the ground and end with radwastes returned to the earth. But in the process, I would have taken up so many pages that readers would wonder whether they were not in fact subscribing to *The Nuclear Republic*.

Yes, I am aware of the genetic effects of radiation, having co-authored a book (*Radiation*, Viking Press) which dealt with the biological effects of penetrating radiation. The linear vs. threshold theory for radiation damage *was* discussed in the third article in terms of somatic effects.

As for Mr. Policansky's point about leveling off power growth, I believe that a dynamic economy and a high standard of living are geared to the kilowatt. I doubt very much that the

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American people would accept a limitation on power. Even if they did, it's hard to conceive how democratic controls can be designed to ration electric energy. The latter is utility-dispensed in power grids which rarely discriminate between customers. That's why a power black-out is so crippling.

Actually, energy growth in the US over the past 70 years shows only an 8-fold increase, as measured in BTUs, whereas electric energy has jumped 300-fold, as measured in kilowatt-hours. The electrification of America will begin to taper off in the next few decades as electric power finds natural limits in invading the total energy complex of the nation.

Ralph E. Lapp

Parochiaid

Sirs:

John Deedy has written a rather cogent account of the groaning and struggling within Catholic parish schools ("Should Catholic Schools Survive?" March 13). What came through to me was the fact that it would be extremely dubious for government to undertake total or partial financing of a school system about which its own members have the gravest doubts. Actually, as other Catholic writers have made clear, such aid might freeze a pattern of control of these institutions which many Catholics find intolerable.

I was startled to find in the middle of his otherwise thoughtful article an irrelevant, bigot reference to Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Why should John Deedy undertake to destroy the liberty of Americans United to invite to its rostrum such speakers of Roman Catholic persuasion as it may choose, or members of any other religious groups for that matter? For his information and yours, Americans United has regularly invited Catholic speakers to its National Conference on Church and State for more than 10 years. They have been both clerics and laymen and have contributed significantly to these events. Why would Mr. Deedy want to require us to limit our speakers to non-Catholics?

C. Stanley Lowell
Americans United for Separation of Church and State

Kauffmann, *from page 24)*

and acting make *Wanda* a small, good work of art, and make Miss Loden a very welcome addition to the film scene.

By coincidence, another debut as writer-director-actress, by someone of whom a great deal *was* expected. And it's an unrelieved disaster.

Lately we've been hearing the cry, "Why can't they make 'em the way they used to? Why can't they make movies that don't try to get *at* us?" Here's one; and it doesn't even get *to* us. It's an attempt at the light-hearted, slightly black comedy of the thirties – off-white comedy, let's say. It not only lacks the appropriate talents but the social context to come from and go to.

The director is Elaine May, who also wrote the script, from a story by Jack Ritchie. I've heard that Miss May is unhappy with the way that Paramount has tampered with her work. Paramount has a good deal of cause to be unhappy with Miss May. The dialogue, the comic ideas, the *shots* (into which a producer's re-editing could not intrude) show Miss May to be devoid of light-hearted comic feeling and nearly devoid of instinct for the camera. Her justly celebated skill in satire and her stage skills are something quite different.

Just one example. On his wedding night, Walter Matthau is seated at a bedroom desk, reading aloud from a book on poisons – he wants to murder his bride – when she comes in from the bathroom in her nightgown. He keeps on reading aloud, which kills the comedy. How stupid can he be, how stupid does he think *she* is, how stupid *is* she, if he doesn't even stop reading aloud? Instead of wit, we get gross, loose imitation of some badly remembered old yock.

The plot – don't worry, I'm not going to synopsize it – is about a suddenly impoverished extravagant playboy who needs to marry money quickly and finds a rich wallflower. In 1971! The failure is insured by the casting of Matthau as the playboy. He's a good comedian in beer-and-undershirt comedy, but as a cultivated wine-bibbing, art-collecting sybarite, he looks and sounds like a stand-in. It's the sort of part that Cary Grant and Franchot Tone used to play, and the casting of Matthau is one index of how the feel for making this kind of pastry has gone.

Miss May is the wallflower. She was a splendid stage caricaturist, but she's a commonplace comic actress. She has made a film that Nichols and May would once have satirized.

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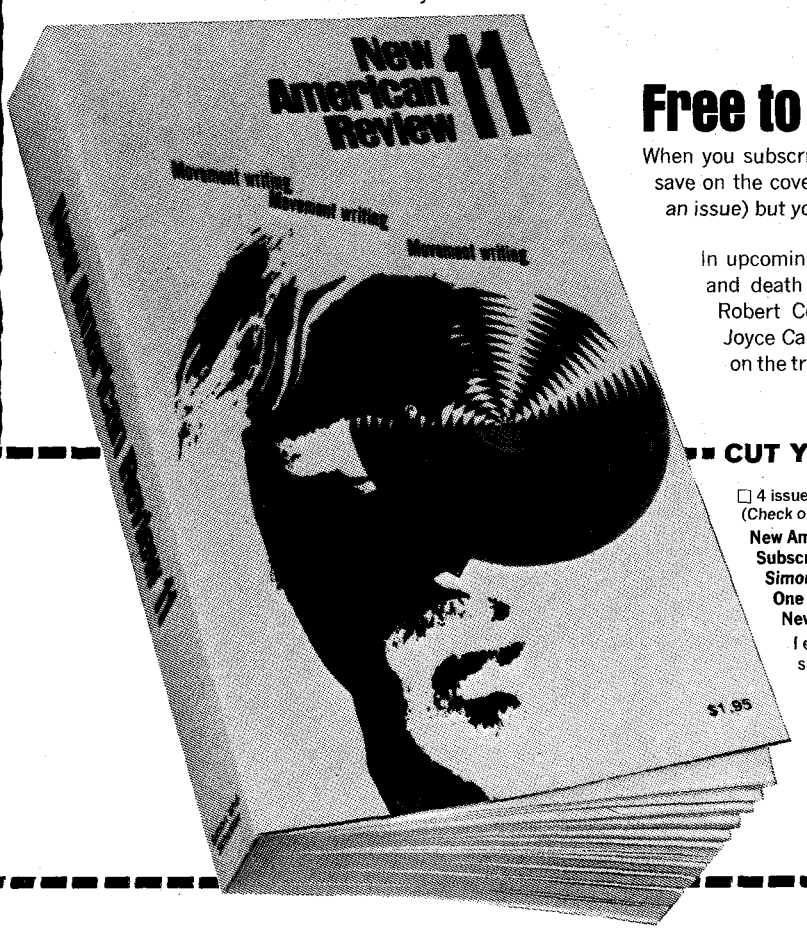

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